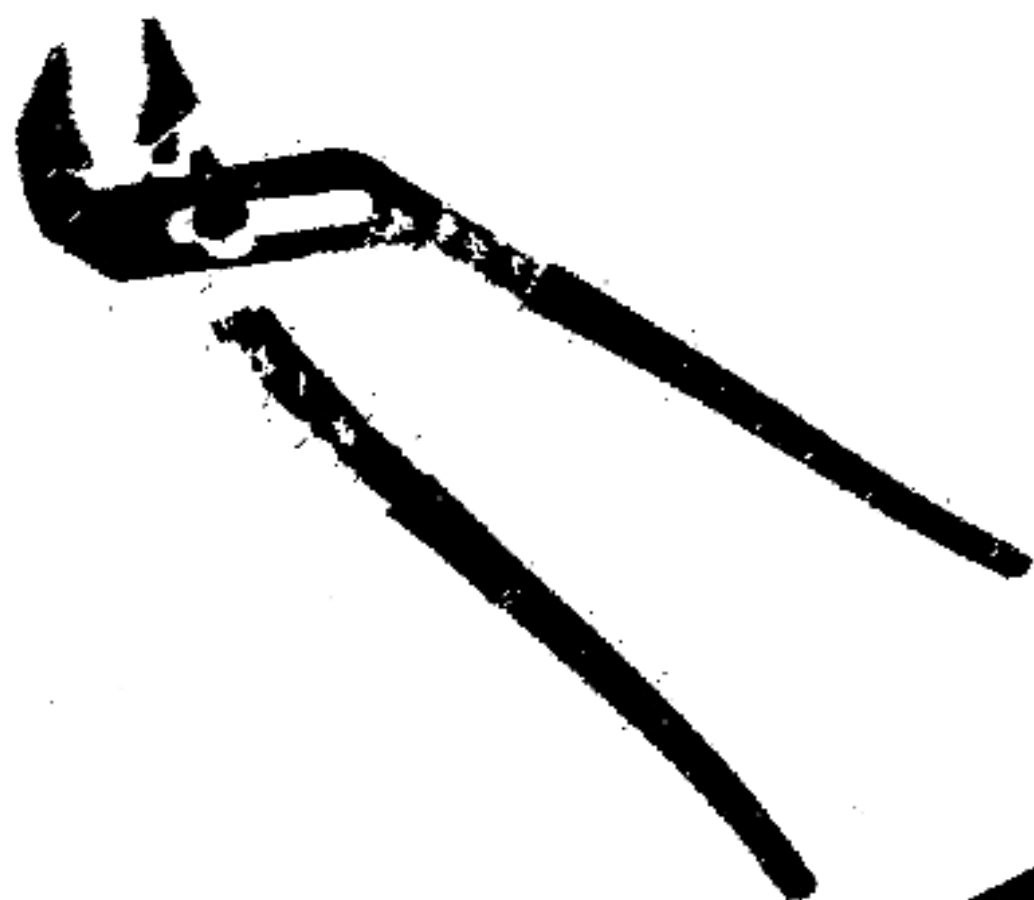


# DISORIENTATION GUIDE 2006



THIS GUIDE IS YOUR TOOL

# Welcome to the Disorientation Guide!

You have just stepped foot into the land of UC Santa Cruz, and with this first flip of the page, stumbled upon an introduction to the side of this school that you might have heard of but won't find in your glossy orientation materials. This guide is designed as a resource for you in discovering the creative, radical communities and projects that thrive here in Santa Cruz. It's true that these things are a big part of what makes our campus unique, but it's not always easy to find them. More importantly, the radical spaces here will only exist as long as we keep on creating them. So if you're interested in connecting to this world, hopefully this guide will be a helpful place to start.

This is the fourth consecutive year that the Disorientation Guide has been distributed on this campus, adding to the lineage of others, published in 1977, 1982, and 1984. Similar guides are also circulated at universities such as Berkeley, MIT, Yale, U of Texas, Austin, and Concordia, among many others. It was baked lovingly by a collective of students who are excited to see new faces joining us in our tradition of thoughtful resistance.

## **This Guide is:**

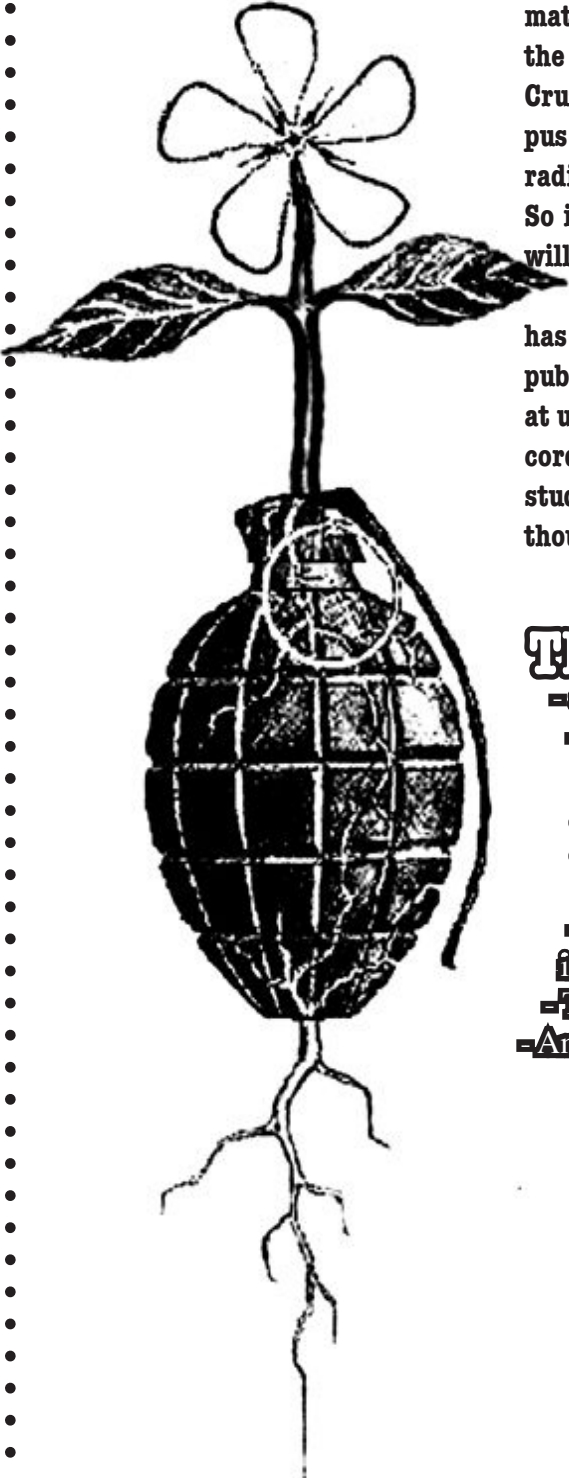
- an introduction to issues that affect our campus and communities
- an attempt to strengthen local activists
- a call for direct action and radical change for social justice

## **It includes:**

- Articles by students/activists
- Descriptions of campus orgs and contact info for getting involved
- Tools for rockin the boat
- And even sex advice!!!

Love,

The UCSC Disorientation  
Guide Collective



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# A good Starting Knowing What the

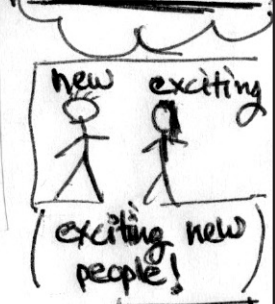


Welcome to another/your first year at our fine university amidst the trees and fog and deer that are way too accustomed to humans. So my dear, sweet reader, where do you see your education going, and where do you see it taking you? We are all here, presumably, to learn. Through the university, we get a fun piece of paper which indicates that we're intelligent (and that we can pay for education). But what about *how* we are educated by the university? What about the university itself: what does it not teach us? These questions frame much of the Disorientation Guide. The articles cover a wide range of topics, yet all point to this university's ties to the government (and corporations) and the power we have to see such connections and re-route our education in a new direction.

You see, the power dynamics between students and the large institutions in which we act can be tricky to wrap your mind around. If this is your first year, you're probably feeling pretty damn free right about now. As you revel in your new-found independence, keep in mind the limits set upon you by the university. If you live on campus, for example, the university dictates where you live and with whom, what you eat, and what classes you take and when. Living within these parameters, but still with an immense sense of freedom, it becomes harder to tell the difference between those things you can change and those you simply accept as beyond your reach. People in positions of power will rarely let you know how to go about really changing things.



So throughout your undergraduate education, you'll be embedded inside the bureaucratic goliath called UCSC. Hopefully you'll enjoy your stay here, but however you feel about it, the university will do a good job of directly or indirectly affecting your actions and choices. At the same time, UCSC will expose you to scads of potentially exciting new people, each with various exciting experiences to share. Which is a damn good thing. But how you affect this institution, how you interact with those exciting people, and what you learn are all largely up to you. This is something people tend to miss or ignore. The relationships between you and the university (or between you and the government for that matter) are not determined solely by the big guys. You influence the institutions you are a part of in many ways, even if only through silent consent.



These authoritative institutions rely on mass participation for their very existence. They rely on most people not knowing much about their various inner workings and effects, such as the numerous non-students whose lives are still directly affected by the university. What they don't want us to know is that the people who make up the institution are the ones who have the real power. That means you! Without students, workers, and faculty there would be no university. Theoretically, the university exists to educate us, ~~so~~ we students have a direct and intimate control over its operation. That's why students and workers, as the largest components of the university, pose such a threat to the higher-up administration once we're organized and united. So if something in the university needs changing, we all have the potential to be the agents of that change.





# Place is simply Fuck is going on.

But wait! What needs changing? How do we know? Clearly, this is tricky considering the congestion of misinformation out there and how much shit goes unreported. A good starting place is simply knowing what the fuck is going on. The Guide seeks to lubricate this continual process of awareness. We recommend learning about some of the various connections between the university, corporations, the military, and the government. Guess what? Every nuclear weapon in the US arsenal was designed at a UC lab! As much in this Guide shows, the UC is first and foremost a profit-generating corporation. Many people

acclaim the UC as a progressive educational institution, so learning this can be a shock. It happens to employ many progressive thinkers, yet its finances and investments are controlled solely by our dear friends, the UC Regents (those folks you/your parents make the check out to). When we view the UC as a profit-making system, other interesting connections come to light, such as its investments in the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Profit also drives decision-making at the level of UCSC itself, as humanities programs get cut while natural sciences get more money for research. Through these and other examples, we can see distinct patterns which uphold power inequalities on several different scales, from racism and sexism to capitalism and the global economy.

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Intro-  
duction

Other things we don't often learn about are terribly exciting, such as the long history of student activism at UCSC right up to last year's successful Students Against War demonstration against military recruiters. Wherever possible, the Guide includes real-life local organizations working for real-life change, bridging the gap between broad oppressions and local possibilities for change. Finally, for good measure, we threw in things like awesome sex advice and a list of sweet-ass reads. Obviously, there's tons more in this guide, and most of it doesn't fit into a neat scheme of "things to know that are good"/"things to know that are bad".

Shit isn't that simple. Being the smorgasbord of facts, ideas, histories, people, and organizations that it is, the Guide humbly attempts to connect you the student with the politics of the university and the world at large. Basically, seeing politics in everyday life involves connecting the micro to the macro and inserting yourself in the larger picture.

see p. 54

kind of like this:

Turning off  
your TV helps  
too

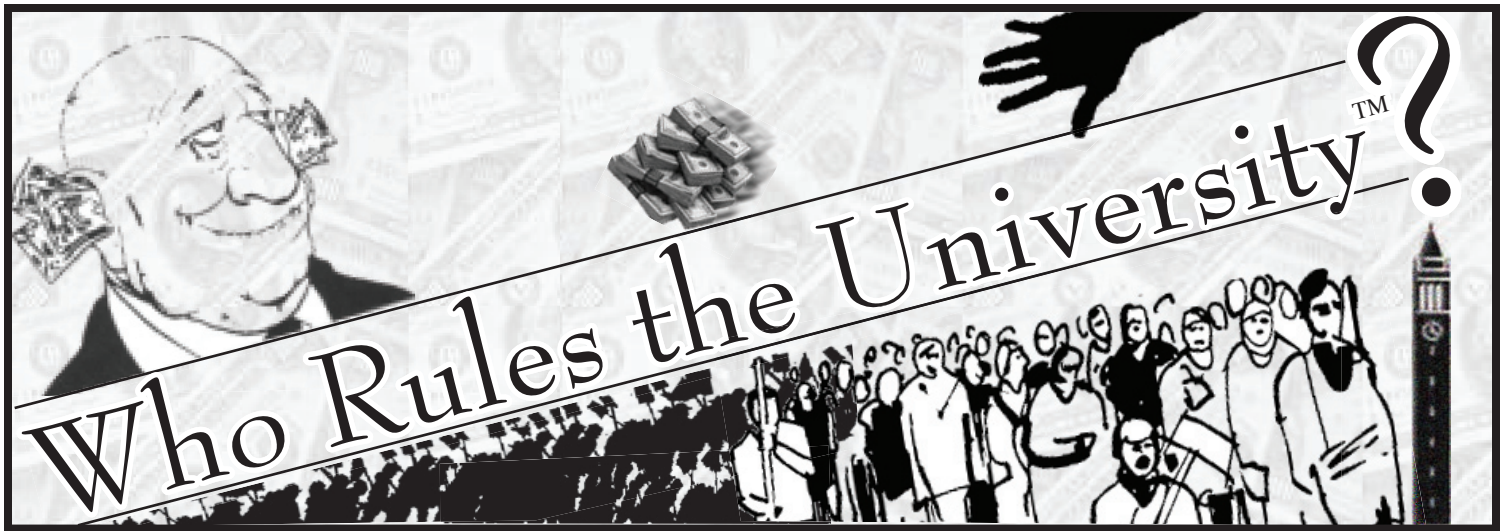
As we scurry from class to class (and party to party), it's frighteningly easy to lose sight of why we are at a university and what changes we can create while we're here. Hopefully you will expand your sense of how changes can take place and your role in that change as your education exposes you to new ideas and people. Ideally, this Guide will assist you in decoding some of the complex processes that shape your position in relation to the university, government, and, just as important, the people you find around you.

[Disorientation?]

I see disorientation as a simultaneous process of learning and unlearning. Generally it's helpful to break down assumptions, stereotypes, and unneeded seriousness. Try rethinking your position as a student, as a silent receptacle of information. Students can assert and expand their power in several ways; being mindful of our roles in dominant institutions, we can use our power more effectively. Use this Guide and spread the word.

word





## A Short History of the UC Regents

What is distinctive about the UC (like many other public universities) is that wealthy elite businessmen have always dominated its governing body. Most private colleges and universities were governed by clergymen well into the first decades of the 20th century. Public universities, however, were overseen from day one by a group of men with goals of profit and power, in addition to education and enlightenment. The Regents are, and always have been, primarily concerned with the role of the university as an instrument of economic growth via scientific and technological development, and the training of an educated workforce. They act as the leadership for the power elite to determine the larger strategic roles of the university that will serve transnational corporations, the military, and the state.

The very first UC Regents personified the major economic activities of California, circa 1868. Nearly all of them had acquired interests in mining, farming, railroads, and ranching operations after having immigrated to the state during and after the famous Gold Rush of 1849. Most were prominent bankers, lawyers, merchants, and mining and real estate tycoons. Charles Reed, a UC Regent from 1868 to 1872 traveled to California from Vermont where he had been an engineer for the Vermont Central Railroad. He eventually became a manager of the California Quicksilver Mining Company, and a major stockholder in the massive Southern Pacific Railroad (the railroad that built Leland Stanford's fortune). Samuel Merritt, a Regent for the first three years of the University's existence, was a director of the Bank of Oakland, and a major real estate developer in San Francisco, Oakland, and Washington State. Merritt is credited with constructing over 100 buildings in Oakland. Lake Merritt in Oakland was named after Samuel Merritt built the dam that separates the bay from the estuary that it originally was.

The land holdings and business activities of the first

UC Regents were by no means limited to the territory of the United States. For instance, Regent Thomas Doyle, a lawyer and Shakespearean scholar was the general agent for the American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company's ill-fated attempt to cut a canal through Nicaragua in 1852. This failed foray into Latin America was followed by his successful work to recover nearly \$1 million from the Mexican government for the Catholic Church of California. The most famous member of the first board of Regents is probably

William C. Ralston. Ralston's elaborate financial empire organized through the Bank of California was invested in shipping, commodities, construction, public utilities, but most importantly in silver mining and other precious metals in the Sierra Nevadas. Ralston's robber baron style eventually led to the Enron-like meltdown of his bank, after which Ralston committed suicide by swimming out into the cold waters of the San Francisco Bay.

Other Regents of the University in its early days included Irving Murry Scott and Isaias Hellman. Both are good examples of the kinds of men who oversaw the University in its infancy.

Scott's Union Iron Works was one of the largest producers of industrial machinery used in mining the Comstock Lode-- a famously rich deposit of silver ore discovered in 1859.

Union Iron Works ultimately shifted from industrial machinery and construction iron to warships. At its height, Union Iron Works was the largest industrial plant on the West Coast. Scott's factory built many battleships for the U.S. navy, including much of the Pacific fleet that destroyed the Spanish Navy and sailed into Manila in 1898, beginning the U.S. colonization and occupation of the Philippines.

Scott's Union Iron Works also built ships for the rising imperial Japanese Navy. In the same year that the United States was putting down Filipino freedom fighters, Scott traveled to St. Petersburg to advise the Russians on retooling their





industries to build warships and weapons.

Regent Isaias Hellman arrived in California from Germany to run a dry goods business in the mid 1800's. In little time he expanded to banking. In 1890 he established Wells Fargo Bank, now the fourth largest bank in the United States, and also the institution that handles banking for the UC's nuclear weapons laboratories in Los Alamos, NM (see page 26), and Livermore, CA. Hellman went on to sit on the boards of numerous corporations.

The UC Regents remain a board composed mostly of wealthy businessmen, lawyers, bankers, along with the occasional educator or civil servant. The overall role of the university has changed little since its founding. Changes in the economic base and leading industries of California are reflected in corporations that the current Regents direct, mostly software, electronics, media, finance, military-industrial, and real estate. The current Board of Regents are senior level executives or directors of a total of at least 55 major corporations and banks.

## Who Are the UC Regents?

The Regents of the University of California are the governing body that oversees the UC system, UC managed DOE national laboratories, and its numerous other research stations. They are solely responsible for making key policy decisions regarding everything from affirmative action to finance and construction. The Governor of California appoints eighteen of the regents for 12-year terms. The other seven UC regents are "ex officio" members. These are: the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Speaker of the Assembly, Superintendent of Public Instruction, president and vice-president of the Alumni Associations of UC and the UC president. One regent is always a UC student, appointed by the other regents.

The Regents are today nothing more than a body of corporate elites and bureaucratic, technical or managerial leaders whose influence and power is put to use by shaping policy within the economic mill that is the University of California.

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**The Regents are best understood as the board of directors of the corporation UC, a corporation like any other, with an overriding incentive to expand its power, prestige and profits.**

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Many of the Regents have financial stakes in the operation of the UC either through direct investments, or through indirect interest in the operations of the school and the general economic benefits it brings to their enterprises. Many of the Regents serve on the boards of the largest corporations in California and the country at large. Most of the firms controlled by members of the UC Board of Regents are powerful transnational corporations worth billions of dollars.

The Regents are best understood as the board of directors of the corporation UC, a corporation like any other, with an overriding incentive to expand its power, prestige and profits. The UC is also a locus for activities including research and technology transition, recruitment and education, all of which directly serve the interest of large firms, the economic elite who run them and the military-industrial complex.

The Board of Regents is also a politically contested body. Republican and Democratic governors tend to stack the board with political allies when given the chance. Many of these appointees were major contributors or close friends of governor. For instance, Ward Connerly was appointed to the board by former Republican Governor. Pete Wilson. Wilson's anti-immigration sentiments and conservative perspectives are well known. Connerly went on to lead the conservative attack that led the UC to drop its affirmative action policy. For in-depth information on diversity

in the UC, see the web site of By Any Means Necessary - <http://www.bamn.com>. Democratic governors have been just as quick to appoint donors and political allies to the board. Members of the current Board of Regents have donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to various political campaigns in recent years. John J. Moores, probably the wealthiest UC Regent, with a personal net worth of \$750 million, spent over \$105,000 on politics since 2001. He was also the largest individual funder of Proposition 54. Gerald Parsky, currently Chairman of the UC Regents has bankrolled Republican campaigns and political action committees (PACs) with well over \$200,000 of his personal fortune since 2001. Vice-Chair Richard C. Blum has spent nearly half a million dollars on campaigns and PACs in the same timeframe.



# REGENT PROFILES



*And I'd still be makin' 25 mil a year if it weren't for you pesky kids!*

**Richard C. Blum**

A wealthy financier and Democratic Party insider, Regent Blum is married to Senator Dianne Feinstein, and has provided cash and a funding network that has fueled her rise in politics over the last two decades. Blum's net worth is probably in the level of several hundred million dollars. Blum is the quintessential power elite. His financial contributions to the Democratic Party and related political action committees often exceeds \$100,000 in a given year. He also serves on the boards of several influential policy organizations such as the Brookings Institution.

His financial holdings are primarily leveraged through his Blum Capital Partners and Richard C. Blum and Associates capital investment corporations in San Francisco. Through these entities Blum invests in numerous global corporations and business ventures. Blum holds considerable stock in CBRE, the largest commercial real estate firm in the world. Blum is also an owner of Korea First Bank, Northwest Airlines, and Playtex Products.

Blum used to hold millions in stock and serve as vice president for URS Corporation, a major military-industrial company that holds innumerable contracts with the U.S. military and is currently making millions of dollars off the "rebuilding of Iraq" through its Perini Construction subsidiary. URS is also the corporate parent of Lear Siegler Services and EG&G Inc., two companies that URS acquired from the Carlyle group. The acquisition deal handed \$170 million in URS stock to the Carlyle Group, making the Washington D.C.-based merchant bank a major shareholder in URS. Carlyle sold off its stake in URS in 2003 (Engineering News Record, 5/31/2004), an exit which has not reduced URS's stake in the military-industrial sector.

Through URS, Blum remained a major player in the military-industrial complex. One notable example is URS's contract for construction services at the UC managed nuclear weapons facility Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL). As a UC Regent, Blum is responsible for overseeing the overall operations of LANL, a "non-profit public service" according to Blum and the Board of Regents. As a Vice President and major shareholder in URS, Blum was responsible for increasing profits through contracts secured with the U.S. military and other clients like LANL. In July of 2000 URS was awarded a contract for "design and construction services at the U.S. Department of Energy's Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico." This five-year contract will enrich URS by \$25 million per year. It also builds up the U.S. nuclear weapons complex to the profit of men like Blum.

At the UC Regents board meeting on May 25, 2005, students put to Blum a question raised by all of his corporate connections: are you making decisions as a Regent or as the chair of URS? As Blum failed to give a satisfactory answer, the San Francisco Chronicle broke the story of his conflicting interests soon after the meeting. Unable to keep his corporate baggage from exploding into scandal, Blum took the allegations seriously and stepped down from his board position at URS. It is still unclear whether Blum dumped any or all of his millions in URS stock when he ditched the board room to preserve some tattered dignity.



*Why don't you kids just shut the fuck up, mmkay?*

**Gerald L. Parsky**

At the same Regents meeting during which students exposed Regent Blum's conflict of interest over URS and the nuclear labs, Regent Gerald Parsky threatened to have the students in attendance removed by force if they continued to speak out against the UC's management of nuclear weapons labs. He gave them a poignant ultimatum: you students can only stay in this room and observe the board meeting if you "remain peaceful." The students, who had come to work for peace in the face of aggressive nuclear build-up, replied to the ironic dictate socratically: "What's your definition of 'peace'?" they asked. "Peace means you don't speak!" he clarified....

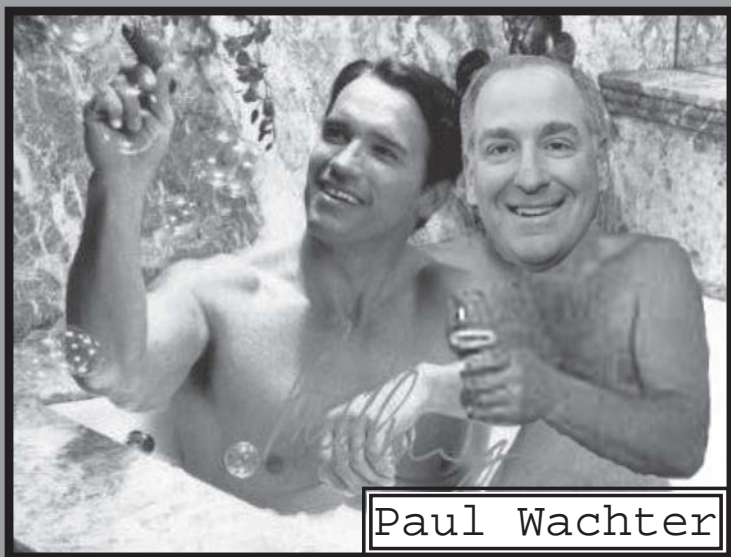
Perhaps Parsky gets his definition of peace from his friends in the Republican Party. Peace and Security is increasingly defined by the Bush administration and its allies as the severe restriction of civil rights, a perpetual war on terror and unprecedented buildups of state military forces at the expense of nearly everything else. Peace means we don't speak; peace means we stifle dissent; peace means we stand by idly while our public university is hijacked to build weapons of inconceivable destructive power.

If Regent Parsky and President Bush seem to share the same definition of peace, that's because they're close allies. Parsky is Bush's main man in California. In 2000 and 2004 Parsky chaired George W. Bush's California election committee. This primarily meant that Parsky was responsible for tapping the state's wealthy republican donors. Parsky raised enormous amounts of money for Bush's campaign through his network of business associates and friends in high places. Parsky was a Bush Pioneer in 2000 and a Bush Ranger in 2004. This means he successfully raised \$100,000 for Bush in 2000, and \$200,000 in 2004.

Regent Parsky got his start in politics in the Nixon administration working in the Federal Energy Office (FEO). The FEO was charged with managing the fuel crises of the 1970s caused by Arab oil embargoes against the United States. In little time Parsky was promoted as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury where he worked under George Schultz (who would leave the post to become an executive at Bechtel Corporation--see page 26). After this stint in government Parsky joined forces with William French Smith to found a legal practice specializing in the transnational movement of capital (see DailyPrincetonian.com 11/5/04). Not coincidentally, William French Smith would also become an executive at Bechtel Corporation. Parsky and Smith's legal practice was located in Los Angeles but had offices in places as intriguing and far away as Saudi Arabia. This period of Parsky's career is indeed worthy of more research.

Nowadays Parsky owns and manages Aurora Capital Partners. His holdings in Aurora Capital are chartered in Delaware and the Cayman Islands. It is very likely that California sees few tax dollars from his business enterprises. Incorporating in Delaware is nothing unusual in American business, but the Cayman Islands remains a relatively more uncommon practice, mostly one designed to avoid all taxes whatsoever. Parsky also sits on the boards of several corporations owned in part by Aurora Capital.





If ever a seat on the Board of Regents was a kickback for the governor's most loyal cronies, Paul Wachter sat in it. To say that Wachter and Schwarzenegger are close friends is a gross understatement. To say that they've done a little business together is equally off the mark. According to Daniel Weintraub, political columnist for the Sacramento Bee, within Schwarzenegger's inner circle, "the most important are his wife, Maria, and longtime friends Paul Wachter and Bonnie Reiss." Weintraub notes that Wachter is, "Schwarzenegger's personal financial adviser, [and] has known him since 1981, when they met through Maria's brother Bobby. Wachter began managing the actor's financial portfolio in the mid-1990s and served as his spokesman on personal financial issues during the campaign. But his influence now extends beyond money." (Weintraub. Sacramento Bee, October 19, 2003).

Paul Wachter is Schwarzenegger's money-man. Before Schwarzenegger's run for governor the two were business partners on innumerable deals. Wachter currently manages the blind trust into which all of Schwarzenegger's investments were liquidated when he became governor. Blind trusts are required of elected officials to avoid conflicts of interest. But given Wachter and

Schwarzenegger's buddy-buddy relationship it's hard to see how Wachter acts as an independent disinterested manager of the governor's assets. Schwarzenegger's financial holdings were briefly and partially disclosed during the recall campaign in 2003. They revealed a financial empire of tens of millions of dollars invested in securities, private equity funds and over 100 business ventures, many in partnership with Wachter.

In addition to Wachter's position as the governor's most trusted advisor, Schwarzenegger also appointed Wachter to his state Commission for Jobs and Economic Growth to serve alongside the Rand Corporation's Chairman Ron Olson, billionaire investor F. Warren Hellman, and the Gap's Chairman Donald Fisher.

Wachter's financial company, Main Street Investment Partners, has managed Schwarzenegger's money for decades. A particularly incestuous aspect of Wachter and Schwarzenegger's relationship is that Wachter's firm is actually located in a building owned by Schwarzenegger called Main Street Plaza. The building nets Schwarzenegger over \$100,000 in rent each year from tenants like Regent Wachter's firm. If you'd ever like to visit, the address is 3110 Main St., Santa Monica, CA, 90405.

Now with Schwarzenegger's money in a supposed blind trust, Wachter is expected to give advice to Governor Schwarzenegger as a UC Regent, as a member of his state Economic Commission and, not without serious conflicts of interest, as Schwarzenegger's financial guru and business partner. If it appears that the Governor and the Regents are running the state like a business, to the profit of themselves and their associates, that's because they very well may be.



The decision to give Dynes the helm of the world's premier public university is no doubt motivated by his connections with the UC managed, national nuclear weapons laboratories at Los Alamos (LANL) and Livermore (LLNL). The UC's management role of LANL has been put in question by the Bush administration. Dynes appointment seems to be a strategic move on the part of the UC to bolster its ability to keep control of the Lab, and prevent LLNL from suffering a similar fate.

Dynes connections with the nuclear weapons complexes are extensive. According to the San Francisco Chronicle, Robert Dynes has served as a consultant to the labs for more than 25 years, served as Vice Chair to the former UC President's Council on the National Labs, and a member of the UC's five person Board of Oversight for the Los Alamos National Laboratory. Dynes has also served on the National Security Panel of the UC President's Council for the National Labs whose mission is to; "provide review and guidance to UC on the Livermore and Los Alamos mission of maintaining the safety and reliability of the nation's nuclear deterrent."

Dynes, it appears, is a firm believer in the University's management of the nuclear weapons labs. He led the University's decision to pair with Bechtel to bid for a new contract for the management of LANL in 2005-2006. Read more on page 26.

## Further Reading for Pissed-Off Students:

- \* Fiat Pax. The Direction of Higher Education: [www.fiatpax.net/](http://www.fiatpax.net/)
- \* Searchable web page of all UC Regent biographies from 1868 to the present: <http://sbdisorientation.org/regentbios1868-2005.htm>
- \* Gray Brechin. *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin*. UC Press, 1999.
- \* Upton Sinclair. *The Goose Step: A Study of American Education*. Haldeman-Julius Publications, c1923
- \* Jennifer Washburn. *University, Inc.: the Corporate Corruption of American Higher Education*. Basic Books, c2005
- \* Benjamin Johnson, Patrick Kavanagh, and Kevin Mattson (Eds.). *Steal this University: the Rise of the Corporate University and the Academic Labor Movement*. Routledge, 2003.

# A Political History of Academics at UCSC

*Memory is a crucial political site. The degree to which we remember our history is the degree to which we can consciously build upon positive legacies and reject patterns of oppression. Every institution has its own history and memory. The transitory nature of the university community makes it especially important for us to actively work to keep our history alive. This guide tries to do this in various ways. This article presents a few dimensions of our UCSC history and identity, focusing on the gradual distortion and deterioration of its original vision.*

## FROM LIBERAL ARTS MODEL TO RESEARCH UNIVERSITY MODEL

UC Santa Cruz was built in 1965 and was intended to be the experimental liberal arts campus in the UC system. As an alternative to the mega UC campuses at Berkeley and Los Angeles, the Santa Cruz college model is supposed to promote community among students, allow for close interactions between faculty and students, and put a premium emphasis on undergraduate education. Professors who have taught here for many decades will tell you how drastically the learning atmosphere has shifted. Importantly, they also emphasize that these detrimental changes occurred with significant student and faculty resistance.

Narrative Evaluations were central to the learning environment that the first administrators at UCSC envisioned. Until 1997, narrative evaluations were the main way that students were evaluated on their academic performance. Narrative Evals were implemented both to give students a more complete sense of their progress, but also to give teachers more flexibility in the kinds of work they could assign through which students could be evaluated. Narrative Evals, meant to emphasize the learning process rather than competition over grades, were firmly in place from 1965 until 1993. At this time the idea of taking on a standard system of grading began to be seriously discussed. Objectors to narrative evaluations asserted that “narratives detract from UCSC’s reputation, they encourage less excellent students to apply here, and they compromise students’ success in getting into graduate and professional schools or securing jobs.” Many students and faculty, however, did not agree and a substantial number of them campaigned to keep narrative evaluations as a significant if not entire part of the grading system at UCSC. Despite the efforts of these activists, as of October 2000 it was decided to adopt a “conventional grading system.” Students are now only allowed to take 1/4 of their classes on a pass/fail basis and must be considered in “good academic standing” to do so. This is just one example of how UCSC has moved toward a factory conception of knowledge production where degrees are cranked out with assembly line efficiency. Although UCSC was never a perfect institution it is moving farther and farther from a school that (at least in theory) emphasizes small communities, meaningful interactions with professors, and alternative models of education and closer to an institution that values grants and research over learning. This change can be seen in the struggle over the way resources are allocated between departments and the way that the University is choosing to expand.

The Individual Major is another student-centered feature of education that has been gradually left by the wayside. Initially quite popular on this campus, they were designed as a way to let students have more of a say in what they are studying and to let them work more closely with

faculty members. Now however, many students are either unaware that they can custom tailor a major or they are persuaded that it is too difficult to do. At this point less than 2% of UCSC students graduate with individual majors and students must find three faculty members to serve on a committee to oversee their progress and to advise them (see page 53 for more information on how to declare an individual major).

UCSC is rapidly moving away from an emphasis on the liberal arts and undergraduate education and towards natural and applied sciences and research. This reflects the values of the larger culture that glorifies technology, market competition, and war and gives little thought to art, literature, community and self-actualization.

Because the state of California has increasingly cut back on the amount of funding it allocates for education, universities such as UCSC are becoming increasingly dependent on outside funding and grants. Consequentially, this University must shape its image in a manner attractive to the sources of money. Much of the money awarded to Universities is in the area of natural and applied sciences because this is the type of research that makes the most money in this economy. Institutions give money to departments and researchers at Universities and then they can sell the outcomes of the research to other institutions and corporations. More and more funding for university research is acquired through branches of the military, the Department of Defense, and the private weapons manufacturers they deal with. The military has always been dependent on having the newest technologies in order to fight its battles and these technologies are often invented within a University atmosphere. It is no coincidence that all of the nuclear weapons in the U.S. arsenal have been made with the science produced by UC employees (see page 25 to learn about the UC’s connections to war).

According to Clark Kerr, UCSC’s mentality of expansion grew out of competition between the various UC campuses. Although expansion is necessary to some degree, it is also important to remember that in many ways the UC is a business like any other, and when one looks at what portions of the campus are expanding the most (not necessarily in proportion to the interests of students) it often correlates with the departments that bring in the most research funding. The current Long Range Development Plan (see page 20) is a living case study in the redirecting of this campus’ priorities. The important thing for all of us to remember is that no changes on this campus are inevitable – however much the Regents like us to think they are. The burden, however, is on us to organize initiatives to direct our institution in the ways we see it best benefiting a just society.

## TIMELINE OF LOCAL ACTIVISM

1967

- Alan Chadwick community garden opens below what is now Merrill College.

1968

- Governor Ronald Reagan attends UC Regents meeting at UCSC and is greeted by mass student protests.



1969

- Students demand that College VII be called Malcolm X College with a focus on domestic Third World Concerns. College VII is now called Oakes College
- Students take over portion of commencement address and present an honorary diploma to Huey Newton (who at the time was in prison). Years later, Newton earns a PhD from the History of Consciousness.



# MORE is LESS!

## Making sense of the UCSC Crisis

Last year, the UC made \$786 million more than it spent. Yet all we hear about is the “budget crisis.” This doesn’t sound like a budget crisis to us. Our university is in crisis, it’s true, but the main issue isn’t the budget. The main issues are priorities and power. Our resources are being **extracted**. The space we have to live and learn in is **contracting**. What all of us really need is a say in how the university distributes its vast resources. What we need is **democratization**.

**Extraction** is when something we have is taken away from us. This is exactly what’s happening to those of us who study, work, and live at UCSC. Our wages, our student fees, our work, our space, our time, and our imagination are all being **redistributed upwards**. More of us are going into severe debt, cramming into bigger classes, and working harder, faster, and longer, while getting less financial aid, fewer student services, shittier educational experiences, and no chances to advance or make living wages.

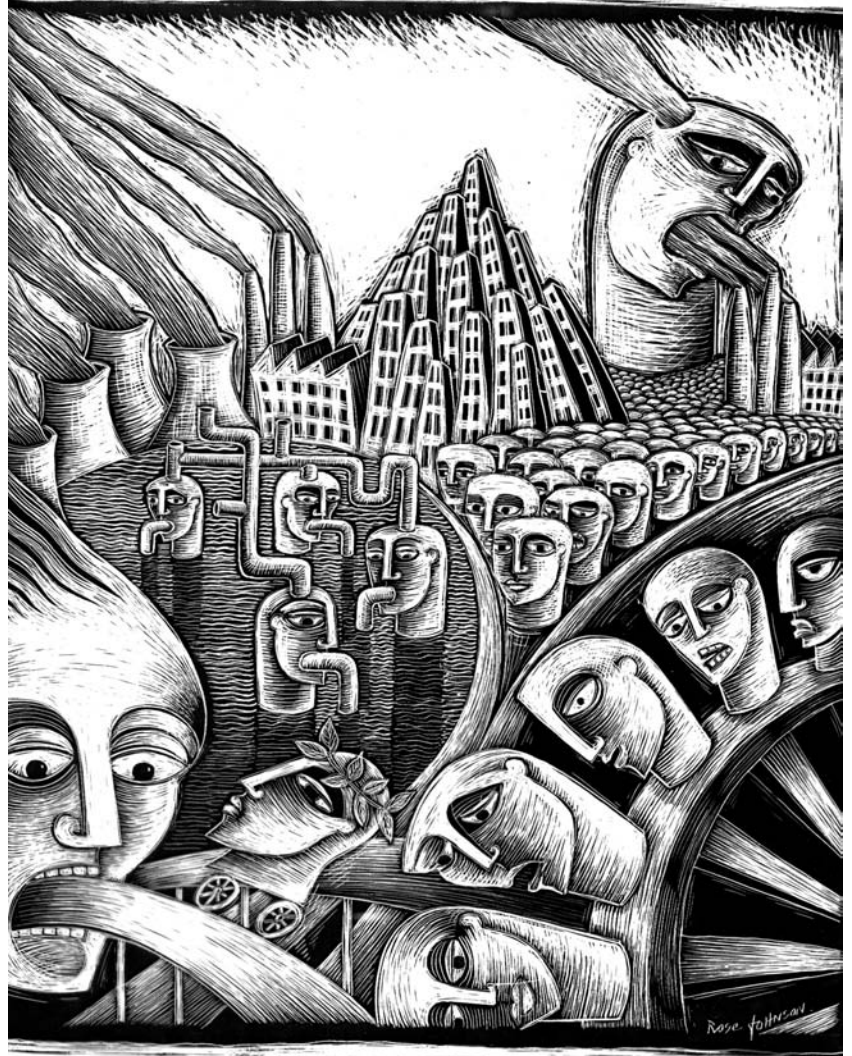
Our money, labor, and energy aren’t being extracted for the purposes of supporting our education or so that we can support our families. Instead, they’re being used to expand corporate connections to the university (in the name of “partnership with the private sector”), line the pockets of top tier administrators (in the name of “salaries competitive with the corporate world”), and double the physical spread of the campus (in the name of “strategic futures”).

### Extraction means:

- massive fee hikes while classes and programs, like Journalism, are being cut
- full professors replaced by adjunct and temporary faculty, each teaching bigger classes for less pay
- custodians required to clean more buildings in less time while being denied raises
- paying workers so little that they qualify for and need social services for the poor
- taxing UCSC’s natural environment to make way for a grossly expanded campus that is of no clear benefit to our city or to UCSC students

*We’re told that UCSC has no choice but to make these cutbacks. So why do they have money to give \$2.4 million in bonuses to UC executives? Why is there \$227 million more in surplus this year than last? A recent neutral study found that the University’s pattern of taking in millions more than it spends is not going to change. Where is the budget crisis?*

**Contraction** is when our opportunities are narrowed, our vision shrunk. We are all left with less money, time, education, opportunity and hope. You’re probably rushing to finish reading this guide so that you can go to work to afford your fees, do homework that will get inadequate attention from your overworked TA, and crash three courses.



### 1970

- Student strikes spread nationally after protesters at Kent State and Jackson State are murdered by police:
  - 1,800 students out of a total of 2,200 take over Santa Cruz streets and march to the County building to demand we send a representative to Washington to lobby for our withdrawal from Vietnam.
  - Many spring term classes are cancelled or “reorganized” to focus on Vietnam War issues.

- Students burn draft cards in the Quarry plaza.
- Large numbers of students participate in closing down of Highway One in front of Fort Ord.

- Women’s Studies Department created
- Student body president Stephen Goldstein critiques UC President Clark Kerr’s book, Uses of the University, at commencement and Kerr refuses to speak after him.



### 1971

- 73 neighborhood activists successfully organize to fight the development of Light House field and mark the beginning of the local environmental movement.
- Students and community members protest the bombing of Hanoi to by shutting down Highway 17 and Highway One.

### 1974

- “The Farm” opens to further the study of agroecology and sustainable food systems.



Contraction means crowded classrooms, overworked teachers and staff, and indebted students. But contraction also **affects our field of vision**. It narrows our sense of what education is for, reducing the university experience from an expansive imaginative exploration to narrow job training driven by economic imperatives. Contraction also narrows our sense of belonging to a community, reducing us to isolated constituencies fighting with each other for apparently scarce resources. Our contracted vision keeps us from seeing the big picture. **We have a common problem:** not scarce resources, but exclusion from the decision-making processes that affect our lives at UCSC.

#### Contraction is:

- students crammed into more overcrowded classrooms and with fewer courses to choose from
- resources diverted away from crucial outreach and retention programs that support students of color
- poorer students in California less able to attend – or even imagine attending – a UC, due to higher fees and less aid (Sounds like a brilliant military recruiting formula to us.)
- workers stuck in dead-end jobs, with no opportunities to advance or build decent futures at UCSC
- women and people of color overly represented in low-wage entry level service and clerical positions – contraction further entrenches the structural racism and sexism that shape promotional practices
- a narrowed vision of the educational experience: students are being trained to pass scan-tron exams, not educated to write and think
- connecting the life of programs to corporate “partnership,” which insures the poverty of programs like philosophy or women’s studies

#### Whose University?

We share our ideas with you because the UC administration and regents are telling a different story about what is happening. You’ve probably heard versions of their story. Well, when the administration tells us it can’t meet vital student and workers needs, we think it’s telling us something about its *priorities*, not about material realities.



The crisis in our campus community is not happening in a vacuum. What goes on at UCSC connects with what goes on in California state politics, which must be understood in national and international context: perpetual war, global socialization of loss, privatization of gain, and a concentration of decision-making power. One way we tackle these bigger contexts is by organizing where they affect us – right here.

Solutions to the crisis we face begin with a **democratization** of the UC management process. UC is a public institution: publicly owned and publicly accountable. We the public demand participation in making the decisions that affect our lives, notably the distribution of our resources. Democratization isn’t a one-time task. It’s an ongoing process of learning, building relationships, raising questions, and organizing collectively.

Here is our invitation: Get involved in building democratic community on this campus!

• **Learn** more. Read fact-finding reports on the UC budget (see [www.cueunion.org](http://www.cueunion.org)). Find out more about the links between budget cuts, rising fees, and declining diversity (<http://ucsa.org/media/reportsfacts.html>). Get the facts on the low wages and their impact on our community ([www.nedlc.org](http://www.nedlc.org)). Study the UC’s connections to military and corporate agendas (see [www.fiatpax.net](http://www.fiatpax.net) and info here about UC Regents!).

• **Talk** to people around you about these issues – on the bus, at work, in the classroom, in your dorm, in the dining hall. Bring your questions and concerns out and into the open everywhere. Democracy rarely happens with official approval.

• **Connect** with campus organizations highlighted in this guide.

• **Participate** in actions this quarter. Look around campus for announcements.

*Produced by the Long Road Collective: Sean Burns, Chris Dixon, Maia Ramnath, James Rowe, Rebecca Schein, and Alexis Shotwell. Contact us at [longroad@graffiti.net](mailto:longroad@graffiti.net).*

#### 1975

- Kresge Coop opens in a teepee in the Porter meadow.

#### 1976

- The Resource Center for Nonviolence (RCNV) is founded.
- SC activists contribute heavily to the creation of affinity groups within “People for a Nuclear Free Future” and the Abalone Alliance that protest the building of Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant. No nuclear plant has been built in California since.

#### 1977

- The Coalition Against Institutional Racism (CAIR) is formed. The group mobilizes over a thousand students at Hahn Administration building to demand that the University divest from South African apartheid and reject the Bakke decision outlawing affirmative action. 401 students are arrested occupying the building.





## BROKEN PROMISES AND STOLEN HISTORIES

*"The time has come for students to take the education here at UCSC and shape it into a better way of thinking, to determine our own destinies as people who really care for one another and share the earth as our only home."*

-Third World and Native American Students (TWANAS)

May 1981, "Bury my Heart at UCSC"

### Our histories have been stolen from us.

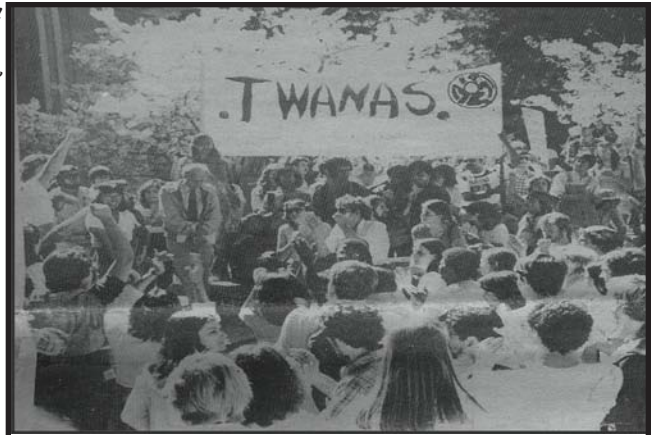
As students we are frustrated again with the education we are receiving (and more importantly, the education we are not receiving). We are absent from the classroom both in curriculum and representation, and the faculty does not reflect our social identities. The courses we take here at UCSC completely leave out or simply brush over our histories and perspectives. These scant attempts at inclusivity are devoid of (y)our student voice and are not on (y)our terms. They come in the shape of alienating class environments where we have to speak on behalf of our whole community. They come in the shape of the token class lecture on ethnic histories/peoples. They come in the shape of a diversity symposium where students are told they can have a voice, but are not included in the planning of the actions. And that's assuming any action is taken at all.

### See, our histories have been stolen from us.

Cause in the midst of the social movements of the 60's, of the mass mobilization and visibility of people of color through the Civil Rights, Asian American, Chicana/o, American Indian & Black Power Movements, aggravated, angered, and empowered students turned a critical eye on their educational institutions as one of the most pronounced sources of racism and injustice in society. In the wake of this, in 1968, students at San Francisco State rallied together to demand the implementation of an Ethnic Studies department of which students had control and authority over faculty and curriculum. Striking students shut down the campus for five months to voice their grievances, and presented their demands to the Administration. At the end of this period the Administration acceded, establishing the first Ethnic Studies Department in the nation. The Third World Student Strikes, as they were called, are some of the most high-profile student actions of the 60's and collectively form the longest higher education strikes in history.

### And yet, OUR histories have been stolen from us.

Because buried back in our past, we were fighting. We were fighting over 20 years ago for a presence, for a visibility and for a Third World Studies program. We were fighting for self-definition. Students created the Third World and Native American Students Collective Press to address the lack of Third World studies curriculum on campus. Between 1974 and 1978, students put immense time and energy into developing a program for Third World Studies. A process that "seemed to have only led to a futile and draining process of meetings, proposal writings, committees, and more meetings" (TWANAS, May 1979). A process that led to the creation and presentation of four different proposals to the



1981: Students mobilize for Third World and Native American Students (TWANAS) Hunger Strike.

University. Four proposals that fell on deaf ears and were lost in university "reorganization." The frustration students had towards the evasive University Bureaucracy culminated in a Hunger Strike in 1981; in a moment when students realized that it was they themselves that had to take their education here at UCSC into their own hands and shape it into a better way of thinking, to determine their own destinies. The Hunger Strike lasted five days in which 25 students did not eat until the Administration promised to meet their demands.

### We are fighting...

### And still, our histories are being stolen from us.

For a while the Administration conceded to meeting student demands during the 1981 Hunger Strike; they are promises that remain unfulfilled. Twenty-five years later, our campus still lacks the proposed Third World Studies Program. Twenty-five years later, we only have ONE Native American Studies Professor and no tenured Asian American Studies Professor. In fact, our campus continues to lack any department, major, or minor in Asian American Studies, Chicano Studies, Native American Studies, African American/Black studies, and/or Ethnic Studies. Instead, we are in a moment when our campus is "re-evaluating" and "assessing" its diversity. A moment we have been in before. Because we are in a moment when past UCSC reports recommended the establishment of Ethnic Studies on this campus ("Making Diversity Work," 1997). And yet we still do not have it. And yet, we are in a moment of "Academic Excellence in Diversity." Our experiences, and the legacy of our experiences, reveal the magnitude of resistance towards students' demands on the part of those in power.

### What we are in is a moment of crisis.

Steal (y)our history back.  
Clench it in your fist, and raise your voice.

<---Picture: Rally in front of Hahn Student Services. Banner reads "... (illegible) OVERTURN BAKKE"

- A proposal is written calling for the implementation of a Third World and Native American Studies (TWANAS) program at UCSC. A program of domestic and international Third World courses was proposed to address a more comprehensive overview of US society. The intent was to examine the dynamic of race and class interactions as a whole rather than merely dwelling

on the history of oppression and exploitation of each individual group.

- First wave of progressives elected into SC city council. By '83, progressives constituted the majority on the council and this continues to this day.



TWANAS Logo

### 1978

- Growth limitation created in Santa Cruz preserving a "greenbelt" through Measures O+J.

### 1979

- Anti nuclear activists create the "Radio Active Times" and distribute 100,000 copies over the next few years.
- The first issue of the TWANAS newspaper is published.

# DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ETHNIC STUDIES AND AMERICAN STUDIES

Ethnic Studies is an attempt to transform the racist educational system from the ground up. It is a way of creating new forms of resistance to university elitism and new ways to democratize knowledge. And unlike traditional American Studies, Ethnic Studies rejects a Euro-American focused history that presents figures (e.g. Christopher Columbus, George Washington) or acts of the government as pinnacle points in the histories of people of color. Instead, Ethnic Studies “[focuses] on the experiences of racial/ethnic groups that historically have been economically, educationally, politically, legally, and socially disadvantaged, and attempts to determine why these groups have not been fully integrated into the fabric of American society” (UCR Ethnic Studies Department).

In looking at the interdisciplinary/multidisciplinary aspect of Ethnic Studies we see how this department looks at race and ethnicity in a global context that could be incorporated into other departments. The benefit of Ethnic Studies in comparison to American Studies is that Ethnic Studies recognizes identity as a fluid, unfixed subject that changes as new issues of transnationalism, migration, and an ever-changing political atmosphere shapes peoples’ identity. This constantly evolving identity has called for the creation of an Ethnic Studies department that looks at these identities through this global context as it affects class, gender, race, etc. Whereas American Studies takes an analytical approach that reinforces a racial hierarchy, Ethnic Studies contests this racial hierarchy by engaging students in helping them understand their own identity and teaches students to challenge the infrastructure that imposes these identities on people of color.

In Ethnic Studies, students gain the skills to think, read, and communicate critically and creatively in diverse multicultural environments. Students are then able to critically analyze information using multiple perspectives and multiple methods. Furthermore, Ethnic Studies helps students understand their responsibilities as citizens in an increasingly multicultural nation.

American Studies does not teach how “the marginal and excluded have done the most to make democracy work in America” (Robert Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*). And it does not teach about racism/anti-racism and its impacts. The Black Freedom struggle helped trigger many social movements from the Women’s Liberation movement, to “anticommunists in East Germany singing ‘We Shall Overcome,’ to Iranians who used nonviolent methods borrowed from Thoreau and Martin Luther King, Jr. to overthrow their hated shah” (James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*). Rather, American Studies perpetuates the myth of equal opportunity and American individualism. An Ethnic Studies major/department would empower students to challenge this racialized system and help them create their own identity.

Traditionally, American Studies is purely academic while Ethnic Studies is deeply rooted in the community. Ethnic Studies produces new knowledge for both the academic and broader public communities. It encourages the increase of under represented communities of students and faculty on campus, and it creates a bridge between the state’s ethnic minority communities and university campuses. Within this very understanding of how Ethnic Studies promotes pedagogy of equality we have to look at the history of UC Santa Cruz and remember that at one point

the goal of this university was to diversify the campus. In UCSC’s Affirmation of Accreditation Self Study Report of 1994, they state the benefits of having a diverse student body:

*“Diversifying the student body at UCSC is important for a number of reasons. First, a diverse student body enriches the academic environment and the educational experiences of all students. Second, as a public institution, UCSC is responsible for ensuring that California residents with appropriate aspirations, talents, preparation, and motivation are provided an opportunity to enroll. Third, in order to serve all segments of California’s population, UCSC has a responsibility to see that patterns of low university participation based on race, class, and gender do not continue. Finally, the economic and social well-being of California requires optimum development of all of the state’s human resources.” (UCSC Self Study, 1994)*

Eleven years ago, UC Santa Cruz’s vision was to have an institution that reflected the demographics of the state in an attempt to enrich students’ experiences here at UCSC. So now, as students, faculty, and administration, we must see the importance of an Ethnic Studies department as a way to develop and encourage dialogue about the lack of students of color who apply to the University system as well as to address the issues of race and gender politics that make up the state.

Many argue that there is no need for an Ethnic Studies department/major, because American Studies has concentrations that focus on race and ethnicity. We have to recognize that these class concentrations continue to look at these ethnic groups through a Euro-American lens, thus not giving a full and rich historical and global context of these groups. Another argument that opponents to the development of Ethnic Studies pose is the decreasing interest of students opting for this major. But if we may be frank, we have to recognize the history of institutionalized racial discrimination and realize that Proposition 209 (the California ballot measure that ended affirmative action in 1996) has decreased the number of students of color in the University system. As such, students of color who would have opted for this major aren’t here to do so. This also brings into question what Ethnic Studies does; it gives students the analytical skills necessary to recognize differences and become conscious of the racial inequalities that exist in today’s system and develop alternative ways to promote a truly progressive movement towards equality.

## WHY DON'T WE HAVE ETHNIC STUDIES?

According to the General Catalog here at UCSC, the administration believes an Ethnic Studies department is not necessary due to the integration of multicultural perspectives into the entire university curriculum rather than establishing them as the responsibility of a separate department or departments (p.238, Course Catalog). The integration of multicultural perspectives tends to manifest itself as a marginal piece within the curriculum of that department as opposed to the concentration. Why are such perspectives not worthy of a concentration? By not establishing a department dedicated to Ethnic Studies, students are not getting the full history of the U.S., we’re only getting a Euro-American Centric/Western colonial point-of-view. For students of color, this means we continue to be fed stories that do not tell us how we fit into the big picture; for a non-student of color, you’re only getting one side of the story. We are all paying for our education to go beyond what we learned in primary and secondary school. By just going into details of this Euro-American Centric history, students are not getting what they pay for.

1981

### • TWANAS struggle:

1. Ed Castillo, the only instructor teaching Native American Studies, is dismissed. UCSC still has no Black Studies or Chicano Studies programs, and only a half-time position in Asian and Pacific Islander studies.
2. TWANAS and the Native American Studies Support Group merge and decide to present specific demands to



1981 TWANAS rally

secure permanent faculty positions.

3. Nearly 600 people march to the Chancellor’s office and present 5 demands which are to be answered within 5 days. - The University’s response doesn’t specifically address the demands. Instead, in classic style, the administration proposes the formation of yet another committee.
4. The TWANAS Support Coalition organizes another rally in response, and 25 people commit to not eating until all demands are met.



# THE IMPORTANCE OF FIGHTING TOGETHER

Seeing how other UC campuses fought for Ethnic Studies, and how their programs and departments function now, we should recognize that there is a need to fight for a department in which students and faculty of color have control of the vision and curriculum—a department with goals that are constantly re-evaluated so as to best serve the desires and needs of the students.

In the past, at the UC Berkeley and Davis campuses, students stressed that the fight for Ethnic Studies was a struggle taken up by unified students of color.

Though Ethnic Studies is interdisciplinary, there is a power structure issue that students can anticipate will emerge in the future after seeing what has happened with other campuses. Though populations of specific ethnicities have increased enough to have their own separate departments, students who fought during the Third World Hunger Strike fought together as students of color, and not just as their individual identities. Students of color at UCSC who have co-

alitions between different communities should be unified in having a vision of a department.

Because Ethnic Studies is interdisciplinary, faculty and other administration members may argue that Ethnic Studies does not need a centralized department and can be spread across various fields. However, this sets up a dynamic that may later pit students, ethnicity-specific programs, and the individuals within those programs against each other for resources.

To learn from how Ethnic Studies departments function at other University of California campuses, we can see how we want to structure our own department in order to stand in solidarity with all communities of color for a common goal. We do not want to compete for resources within our own ethnic specific communities and their faculty. We want all communities of color to have studies relating to their identities. We want unity with our peers of color and not divisions.



## MAKING DIVERSITY WORK:

### *The Report of the Chancellor's Commission on a Changing Campus*

In a 1997 report entitled, "Making Diversity Work," issues about UCSC's vision and methods of promoting diversity were discussed. In this report, the university confessed the lack of leadership UCSC has taken toward the goal of building an Ethnic Studies department, "However, neither CEP [Committee on Educational Policy] nor the administration has yet taken formal responsibility for identifying major gaps in the campus' Ethnic Studies curriculum or for developing effective strategies for filling these gaps." UCSC recommended that CEP take this up as a leading goal for 1998-1999. It never happened.

The UCSC vision was to "...attract and retain a diverse student body, faculty, and staff from many different communities in the state, nation, and world." Interestingly enough, one of the mechanisms to implement this principle included the forging of an Ethnic Studies department. It never happened.

The vision was very progressive, but what's a vision worth if no engagement or action is taken to make it a reality? How can the university say that it envisions a diverse campus and make a report about "Making Diversity Work" without letting the students develop a clear racial understanding within their

education? American Studies and Latin American/Latin@ Studies just aren't enough. We need an Ethnic Studies department, as we are the only UC without one. We're paying about the same amount as the larger UCs, yet we're behind the rest of the UCs, and the administration has not taken the educational responsibility to meet our needs. Even now, the same subject comes up.

On November 3rd-5th, 2005, Chancellor Denton held a Diversity Symposium, which was to address issues around what diversity is and how to teach to diverse populations, and how to attract students from diverse backgrounds. One proposed question was "How does the University foster a space for individuals of diverse backgrounds to feel that there is a space for them and will want to come and contribute to the learning and research environment?"

A direct action that would answer that question would be the creation of that same Ethnic Studies department that has been proposed before. This is not to say that by creating a separate department we are then segregating those individuals. However, given the histories of exclusion of ethnic "minorities," such a department would at least present institutionalized acknowledgement of the struggles and contributions of those various ethnic groups to the history of the U.S. By doing so, the University is truly showing support to those groups and giving a voice to those who have been traditionally silenced and marginalized. If an entire department is dedicated to the studies of such contributions, interactions, and (action-based) theories, all the while tying in other disciplines, then it makes it hard to ignore that side of her/history and others are bound to pay attention.

Undergraduate Diversity UC Wide	
African American	3%
Asian American	34%
Chicano/Latino	13%
White	37%
Other/Unknown	13%
Female	54%
Regular Rank Faculty by Ethnicity and Gender	
African American	2%
Asian American	11%
Chicano/Latino	5%
White	82%
Other/Unknown	0%
Female	24%
*Fall 2002 data	
The University of California Systemwide report ( <a href="http://www.ucop.edu/news/profiles/systemwide.pdf">http://www.ucop.edu/news/profiles/systemwide.pdf</a> )	
Students of color at the UC wide level are not reflected with the amount of faculty of color at University of California campuses.	

5. Third World and Native American faculty meet and unanimously agree to support the hunger strike.
6. The University agrees in writing to:
  - a. One tenured track faculty member each in both Asian-American Studies and Native American Studies
  - b. The continuance of a part-time position in Asian-American Studies.
  - c. Additional funding for staff to help begin the search and hiring of these faculty.
  - d. To replace Third World and

Native American faculty who go on leave in adherence with affirmative action guidelines.

- e. To propose to the Academic Senate that each student be required to take a course substantially focused on Native American and/or the domestic Third World.
- f. Increased financial support for the Third World Teaching Resource Center.

- "Save our Shores" created in Santa Cruz to spearhead the movement

against off shore oil drilling.

- Santa Cruz Veterans of Foreign Wars (post 5888) expelled from national org for taking an anti-imperialist stand

- 1982
- Agroecology program founded, ensuring the continued existence of the farm and Chadwick garden.



## WHAT NEXT?

Twenty-five years ago, at the culmination of the 1981 Hunger Strike, in the Statement of Understanding Concerning Third World and Native American Studies, an agreement between the students and administration, concluded that the administration would be "...committed to the development of necessary support services for Third World and Native American Studies."

And eleven years ago, the 1994 UCSC Self-Study proclaimed:

*"Diversity is an issue of special concern at UCSC. The state's changing demographics make it imperative for the University of California in general and our campus in particular to serve and be enriched by an increasingly diverse population. We aspire to create a campus community where all individuals will feel welcomed, supported, and respected, and where they will be able to contribute to and gain from membership in that community..."*

And even eight years ago in the 1997 report, the administration also admitted they haven't done their job in building an Ethnic Studies department. Now what? It is obvious that the University will not take this matter into their own hands as they have proved themselves guilty of in past years. It's up to the student's power and voice to break away from racial ignorance; it's up to the students to break away from apathy; it's up to us to make this change happen; it's up to us.

	UCB			UCD			UCI			UCLA			UCR			UCSD			UCSB			UCSC		
	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.
Ethnic Studies	•	•	•										establishing future graduate program	establishing future graduate program	•	•	•							
African American/ Black Studies	•	•	•	•			•			INTERDEPARTMENTAL PROGRAM			•	establishing future graduate program				•						
Asian American Studies	•			•			•	graduate emphasis		•	•	•	•	establishing future graduate program	graduate program emphasis									
Chican@/ Raza Studies	•			•			minor only			•	•	•	•	establishing future graduate program	graduate program	•	•	•	•	•				
Native American/ American Indian Studies	•			•	•		minor only			INTERDEPARTMENTAL PROGRAM			•	establishing future graduate program	graduate program									

## THE AFFIRMATIVE DIVERSITY COALITION

The Affirmative Diversity Coalition was created in 2006 when a coalition of students and workers met to discuss various University actions and policies whose ultimate effects were to disadvantage students, faculty and staff/ workers of color. To the students and workers involved in the coalition, affirmative diversity means providing infrastructural support for the organizations, academic curriculums and people that challenge status quo institutional racism and sexism. Affirmative diversity is not only about increasing the numbers of underrepresented minorities at UCSC. Affirmative diversity means actively creating non-racist and non-sexist environments at UCSC. Affirmative diversity means changing University administrative policies whose effects disadvantage people of color in the UCSC community. Affirmative diversity means producing and maintaining academic curriculums that centralize the histories of underrepresented communities and engage with race, gender, class and sexuality discourses toward social justice projects.

The Affirmative Diversity Coalition was established to address three long-term goals:

1. To establish infrastructural support for student-initiated outreach/retention programs, organizations and resource centers at UCSC. These organizations are central to retaining students of color at UCSC and are largely responsible for sustaining affirmative diversity on campus. These include: Rainbow Theater, Engaging Education (E2), MEChA, Filipino Student Association, Third World and

Native American Student Press (TWNAS),

African Black Student Alliance (ABSA), Asian Pacific Islander Student Alliance (APISA), African American Theater Arts Troupe (AATAT), Student Alliance of North American Indians (SANAI), the Ethnic Resource Centers, Ethnic Student Organization Council (ESOC). Despite this, seemingly passive and apolitical University funding allocations and administrative delays have consistently sought to disable vital student organizations and services that create an affirmative diversity environment for students of color and their allies at UCSC.

2. To demand that the University hire and retain faculty of color and faculty from all racial and gender backgrounds that teach and research underrepresented groups, races, ethnicities and genders. The recent exodus of senior faculty of color who were central to teaching race and ethnicity courses as well as providing mentorship to students of color at UCSC was one of the main reasons that the Affirmative Diversity Coalition was formed. The Coalition will work to establish a Race and Ethnicity Program at UCSC.

3. To demand living wages as well as safe and welcoming working environments for custodians (who are primarily people of color). Currently, custodians at UCSC are paid between 13 and 30% less than their counterparts at Cabrillo and CSUMB. In addition, the Affirmative Diversity Coalition seeks to create a working environment where workers of color have opportunities to grow.

If you are interested in joining the Affirmative Diversity Coalition, please email us at [affirmativediversity@lists.riseup.net](mailto:affirmativediversity@lists.riseup.net)

- UCSC Earth First! starts holding meetings at College Eight.

1983

- First office of the soon-to-be national org. "Witnesses for Peace" opens up at RCNV to contest US counter-revolutionary intervention in Latin America, especially Nicaragua.
- On June 20th, over a thousand people are arrested



blocking the entrance to the Lawrence Livermore Weapons Lab. Five days later more than six thousand join hands around the lab in opposition to the lab's work and in support of the blockaders in jail.

- Several test launches of the MX missile from the Vandenberg Airforce Base are cancelled due to security breaches from protesters sneaking onto the base.

Over 800 people arrested.

- Santa Cruz becomes a "Nuclear Free County"
- Demands from 1981 hunger strike remain unmet. Oakes College ethnic studies courses dissolved, only science and writing courses offered in Fall.

1984

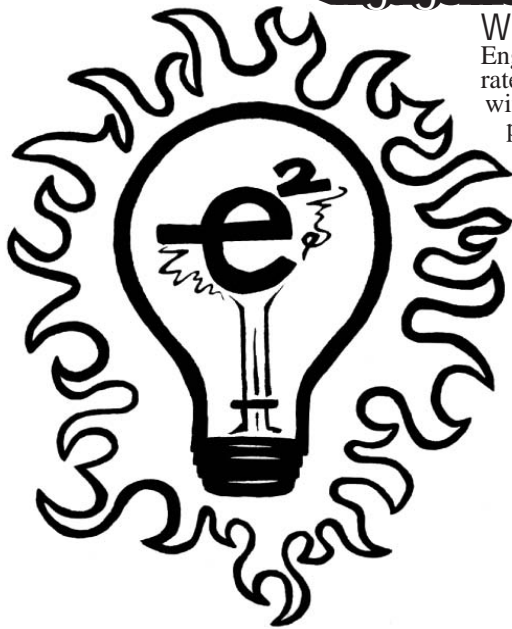
- TWNAS circulates a petition that shows overwhelming student support for the Ethnic Studies GE.
- Demonstrations against plastic packaging staged at McDonalds on Mission Street.



# Engaging Education (e<sup>2</sup>)

is a Student-Initiated Outreach and Retention Center for Student Engagement and Academic Excellence.

by Amanda Wake



## What is e<sup>2</sup>?

Engaging Education is a supportive and dynamic space for programming that addresses the low rates of recruitment, retention and graduation that historically under-resourced communities face within higher education. To build a foundation for students to grow and evolve, e<sup>2</sup> promotes programming that engages in grassroots organizing, student activism, community-building both inside and outside the University, and understanding legacies of social justice struggle. e<sup>2</sup> partners with the University community to provide a purposeful, transformative and relevant educational experience for all students.

## Context and History

The concept of e<sup>2</sup>: Engaging Education was first introduced at the 2001 Peace Vigil organized by the Ethnic Student Organization Counsel in response to two major hate incidents that recently occurred at UCSC. On the event's flyer e<sup>2</sup> was defined as, "(v): Engaging Education: is not an organization or club – e<sup>2</sup> is a conscious movement by students at UCSC towards owning and taking responsibility of our education." Students were outraged at the lack of support felt from members of the university administration and the campus community in general. They decided that if any change was to be made it, it was going to have to come from the students.

The idea for the e<sup>2</sup>: Engaging Education Center, conceived at the Peace Vigil, was developed into the Measure 10 Campus referendum during the e<sup>2</sup> class (previously the ESOC Leadership class) of Winter and Spring 2003. The class facilitators and students worked on developing the beginning of the e<sup>2</sup> center. The referendum was created in response to the intensifying threat of cuts to student resources, specifically outreach and retention. e<sup>2</sup> has institutionalized student-initiated outreach and retention programs, which recruit and maintain a diverse student body at UCSC, as well fight for the educational rights of all students.

## Outreach and Retention

Outreach and Retention programs are student-initiated and student-run. Each targets, but is not exclusively for, historically underrepresented communities. Our Outreach programs seek to create opportunities for, and encourage high school students to continue their education at an institution of higher education. Our Retention programs aim to help students reach their fullest potential as learners and graduate. Each program fosters mentorship, builds a sense of community, and offers social, academic, and social support. As the center grows, new programs can be created and supported by the center.

## Services

In addition to our Outreach and Retention programs, e<sup>2</sup> provides other services that help support and engage students during their academic career. These include:

- **Space** to study, use the computers, dialogue, ask questions, and hold events or workshops.
- **Tutors** in writing, math, biology, chemistry, etc. They are available every Monday through Thursday at the e<sup>2</sup> Redwood Lounge.
- **Academic Credit** for activism through the e<sup>2</sup> class.
- **Mentorship** through Retention Programs and e<sup>2</sup> center internships.
- **e<sup>2</sup> Library** is a collection of textbooks and readers that students can check out.

Contact Us:

e-mail: [ucsc\\_e2@yahoo.com](mailto:ucsc_e2@yahoo.com)

Main: 831-459-1743

"e<sup>2</sup> is not an organization or a club – e<sup>2</sup> is a conscious movement by students towards owning and taking responsibility of our education"

"e<sup>2</sup> believes there is power in numbers; through solidarity and unity the possibilities for change are endless."

"e<sup>2</sup> believes in the right to a free and accessible education for all."

## 1985

- EOP/SAA sponsors a forum for all Third World students. UNITY THROUGH ACTION is born. UTA drew together a coalition of Third World organizations.
- UTA/TWANAS petition drive collects 1500 student signatures supporting the Ethnic Studies G.E. requirement. Petitions submitted to the Academic Senate. The Senate votes to include the requirement. **VICTORY after 13 years.**
- City Council declares Santa Cruz a "Free Port" for trade with Nicaragua after U.S. military mines major Nicaraguan harbors

- Westside neighbors organize Westside Community Health Clinic (later to join up with and continue as Planned Parenthood downtown)
- Women's Center opens.

## 1986

- Years of student protest pay off as the University of California becomes the largest public institution yet to take a stand against apartheid in South Africa. Actions are held at all UC campuses, including mock shanty towns, sit ins, and of course teach-ins and rallies

caused such disruption and bad press for the university that it sold its \$3 billion in stock holdings with companies that do business with South Africa. Mandela would later state that the UC divestment campaign was a key part of international pressure to end apartheid. This success is an important precedent for the current campaign to divest from Israel (see page 30 and [www.ucdivest.org](http://www.ucdivest.org)).

# Save Our Languages!

*SOL fights off another attack on our liberal arts education...*

By Lauren Reppy

In 2005, the UCSC Humanities department announced a proposed budget cut of 20% to the language program. This cut meant either the loss of over half of the language courses currently offered, or half of the widely popular Spanish program. Sensing the urgency of the matter, students and teachers collected over 4000 signatures, demonstrating the immense support for languages from the campus at large. The administration quickly took notice and declared the proposed budget cut a mistake, and that the money had simply been "misplaced." Concerned students and faculty celebrated their success in the retention of the language program and relaxed as the budget for the coming year was secured. In winter of 2006, however, languages were threatened again with a 20% budget cut. With a sense of betrayal and déjà vu, students and faculty once again organized to save the language program. After another round of petitioning, for the second time the administration discovered that the language program was indispensable.

After the language program at UCSC was rescued for a second year in a row, rather than celebrate the victory, students lamented the lack of established support for this vital program. Recognizing that the language program remains vulnerable to annual budget cuts, a group of students decided to organize and lobby for languages. On March 8th, 2006 concerned students, faculty and community members held a rally outside of the Academic Senate to generate awareness and to show support for the language program. The turn out was amazing and the energy was positive; students carried signs that read, "Our priority is diversity," and in a variety of tongues, "I love languages!" Students recounted their personal experiences with the language program at UCSC and the ways in which learning languages has enhanced their lives. Some spoke of job opportunities available to multi-lingual graduates, others attributed their passion for languages to the indisputable fact that speaking multiple languages enables multi-cultural understanding and communication. The pervading message throughout the rally was the necessity not only to secure the language program at UCSC, but to strengthen it.

The reality is that the program is not designed to be successful. Unlike other UCs, Santa Cruz does not include a general education requirement for languages, something that ensures the future of language programs at other universities. Perhaps the most notable weakness at our university is the fact that our language program does not receive central funding, but rather falls under the funding umbrella of the Humanities. This means that when the already financially stretched Humanities department needs extra money, it comes straight out of the budget designated for languages. However, these are only superficial aspects of the struggle. The root of the problem extends far deeper, as UCSC, which attracts many students to its arts and humanities programs, has been quietly rearranging its priorities. As the world moves into a more science oriented arena, valuing technology and innovation over creativity and art, the sciences within Universities attract the monetary attention of both big business and interested Government parties. Recognizing this movement, the administration at UC Santa Cruz

has begun shifting their values from the arts to disciplines such as engineering, computer science and mathematics. The problem with this shift? Decisions regarding this issue were made without the consultation of the student population. Liberal arts programs are being cut significantly or eliminated altogether. A perfect example of this is the dismantling of the Journalism program three years ago, even though Journalism was an extremely popular area of study. Languages face a similar prognosis, as the University simply does not see the value in maintaining this program.

At a liberal arts university such as this, all disciplines should receive the proper financial support they require to allow students to have successful and positive experiences in whatever path they choose. With an increasing tuition of almost \$8000 a year, there should be money for all programs. The solution? Prioritization. As students, we hold a powerful station at our university, but only if we exercise this power. If prioritization of undervalued programs is what we desire, than we as students must voice our opinion. The budget for the language program at UCSC in the 2006/2007 academic year is secured, however the fight continues. If you would like to participate in this struggle for the language program and ensuring its future prosperity, become involved in the SOL (Support Our Languages) student organization.



To contact SOL, email the list-serve at [www.saveourlanguages@yahoogroups.org](mailto:www.saveourlanguages@yahoogroups.org).

**1987**

- Gay Lesbian Bi Trans Intersex Resource Center ("Intersex" added in 2003) space won by students.

**1989**

- City Council explicitly un-invites Navy from visiting harbor for recruitment efforts

**1990**

- Earth Night Action topples power tower in Aptos, blacks out Santa Cruz for 2 days. No one is ever charged for this action.

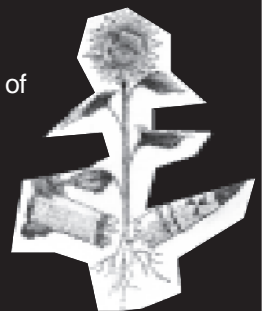
**1991**

- UCSC/Big Creek starts logging at Elfland over holiday break. 42 people arrested in day-long demonstration and woods actions. Native shell site trampled and sacred sites destroyed. Construction of Colleges 9 & 10 begins. (The story: <http://nativenet.uthscsa.edu/archive/nl/9201/0051.html>)
- Local activists raise funds to install Chase's "Collateral Damage" statue downtown near the clock tower.
- Students and local activists shut down Highway 1 to protest Operation Desert Storm.

- African American Resource and Cultural Center opens.

**1995**

- August 6: 15,000 people gather in downtown SC to honor the victims of the US atomic bombing of Japan.
- Walnut tree action by Santa Cruz





# TENT UNIVERSITY

## A LESSON IN REPRESSION

Do you think the University of California has our best interest in mind? Coming here as a freshman two years ago I might have thought this as well. That is, until what took place at Tent University...

Inspired by Rutgers' Tent State University in New Jersey three years prior, which used tents to symbolize the impoverishment of higher education as a cost of funding for the Iraqi war, students in Santa Cruz took their own spin, shooting for nothing short of a cultural revolution. During the week of April 18-22, 2005, Tent University Santa Cruz set forth to institute an alternative, autonomous university, founded upon the democratic ideal, in order to highlight the lack of democracy within the UC. It was strategically held in the large field at the highly visible and bustling base of the UCSC campus. Many teachers chose to hold their classes at Tent U, and an array of workshops, ranging from how to make natural dyes, to understanding the "budget crisis," were taught by students and community members. Although everyone had their own motives for participation, the space was born from a mounting discontent pervasive throughout the student body. Falsely termed a "budget crisis," the corporate driven priorities of the UC Regents (see pg. 6-9/11-12) were making themselves felt throughout the campus community. The budget "crisis" is not a lack of funding at the UC, but rather a major crisis in its allocation.

So as the university continued to cut programs, increase tuition, and pay workers less than a living wage (meanwhile allotting millions of dollars in executive bonuses), the Tent U Crew set out to "reclaim the university as our own," as the motto went. In a whirlwind of brashness, empowerment and creativity, we gathered in the public eye against the glaring corruption of higher education. We sought to hold the event without the approval of the university, as a statement against the possibility of creating revolutionary change from within an institution so inherently corrupt, and as a testament to the power of people to "Resist, Create, Unite" outside of established institutions altogether. Threatened by this, the administration plotted to subvert the event through a number of avenues. On the UCSC website, it slandered the organizers of Tent U, announcing that there would be inadequate sanitation and did not account for student safety. On the point of sanitation, the university had notified every port-a-potty company in the area and prohibited them from selling to us, despite the fact that we had raised sufficient funds. As for safety? Well, what we didn't foresee was that it would be the University itself that would create a situation that was quite unsafe indeed...

The first day of Tent U, Monday, April 18, was termed "the Day of Mass Democracy," as the hundreds of students and community members who showed up to participate broke off into groups to decide whether or not we should camp at the base of campus. Disregarding the University's strict warnings that camping was prohibited, the group decided through the process of consensus to camp at the base anyway. At 9:15 pm, after a day charged with rallying, discussion, and celebration, the shrill cries of our emergency whistles blew out across the field. All at once, dozens of Santa Cruz police cars, called in by campus officials, rolled up to the scene. Approximately 70 students at this point proceeded to "lock down" in circles of tens, a technique of non-violent resistance which many of us had learned earlier that day from renown activist David Solnitt. The base of campus is classified as a "free speech zone" (an absurd term to begin with) only between the hours of 8am to 8pm. Beyond the octal hour, it becomes private property of the UC Regents, and thus refusing to leave, the officers bleared through their loudspeakers that



we were charged with trespassing and were ordered to disperse.

For the next two hours, students practicing civil disobedience were brutalized by Santa Cruz police officers, as well as the Berkeley riot police, who had been called in the day before to assist with the task of dispersion, using "pain compliance tactics." With hands sheathed in blue latex gloves, police officers jabbed forcefully into pressure points beneath the chains of the protesters so that they would either pass out or give up from the pain. The police also gouged eyes, twisted legs, and wrenched wrists in an attempt to get resisting students to release their grip from each other's clasping hands. Outside the tent, media had gathered, and hundreds of onlookers encircled the chaos. A myriad of chants rose and fell amidst pleading, singing, crying, and screaming coming from every direction. Gagging and spitting with the thought that at any moment I was next, I the desperate cry of "we are peaceful, you are violent!" filled my ears. Watching our loved ones brutalized for the crime of working toward positive, just change and rendered completely helpless, a new chant rung out from the crowd: "who are you protecting?!"

What went down Monday night at Tent University made it all too clear that what the police are protecting is power. In this case, that meant shielding the university from having its corruption challenged and exposed. The biggest concern of the University of California, in spite of its propaganda and doublespeak, is to maintain its status as a capitalistic enterprise. "This is not an issue of free speech," said Chancellor Denton, "Rather, it is a matter of ensuring the students' safety and protecting the orderly conduct of our educational mission." Sitting in my lock-down circle, fearing the uniform clad people I was told exist to protect me, I have never felt less safe in my life. The University does not care what the student wants. The UC Regents, as managers of baseball teams and CEOs of major corporations, are entirely removed from the notions of justice and democracy, let alone any true concern for public education. The violence used to suppress Tent University, as hideously unbelievable as it was, was yet entirely to be expected. The university will stop at nothing to perpetuate its cycle of exploitation and profit, even if it must go so far as to strangle, literally, the voices of dissent.

Earth First! fails to save old tree behind former Bookshop site. City sells wood at a profit. Protesters march to demonstration and lockdown at Big Creek Lumber mill in Davenport.



Photo: 1996 shutdown

1996

- After extensive negotiations with the Regents, the UCSC "Affirmative Action Coalition" (AAC) mobilized over 500 people and shut down the campus for 7 hours on January 17.

**"It is our intention to bring to the forefront the issue of affirmative action and the need to act on it, for not to take a stand on affirmative action is to allow racist institutions to uphold a power hierarchy that is detrimental to all."**

-AAC statement printed in Twanas 2/8/96



Run for Your Life! It's the...

# LONG RANGE DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The UCSC campus is renowned for its beautiful redwood forests, meadows and coastal plains. But the university aims to change this. In all their infinite wisdom,

the UC Regents have created a committee to plan and oversee the physical expansion of the UCSC campus. This committee, known as the LONG RANGE DEVELOPMENT PLAN (LRDP), calls for an extensive infill construction project that will increase the density of colleges and "core" areas, doubling the present infrastructure on campus. This new construction comes at the cost of destroying the existing ecosystems that have been in place since before the university was a concept.

## HERE ARE SOME DETAILS:

- 65% of new development will be in the core of campus (infill development)—which means that 35% will occur in semi-wild areas in the north of campus. Formerly the campus reserve.
- The LRDP expands the "academic core" (primarily academic buildings near the center of campus) to encompass approximately 134 acres.
- The college arc (residential areas) will surround the core and in the LRDP will expand to 214 acres.
- 28 acres of now undeveloped land will be turned into faculty housing.
- 14 acres of undeveloped land will become "recreation facilities."
- 33 acres of undeveloped land in the far north of campus will be designated for "site research and support", meaning that they will primarily become buildings associated with social sciences, Physical and Biological Sciences, Student Services, and Public Services.
- A new "loop road" will be built along what is now Chinquapin fire road,

connecting Heller (above the North Remote Parking Lot) to McLaughlin, through what is now wild habitat areas for numerous species. This road will also extend out through the Cave Gulch area to Empire Grade, which will become a third entrance to the University, and will thus heavily increase traffic on Empire Grade.

• One new connecting road will also extend Meyer Drive (connecting Meyer Drive to Hagar Drive) and another will connect Hagar Drive to Coolidge Drive.

• As many as 3,100 new parking spaces will be put in.

• The LRDP might also result in the demolition of the UCSC Camper Trailer Park, one of the few spots of real community on campus. The current site of the Trailer Park is the proposed location of Colleges 11 and 12. However, student outcry about the destruction of the Trailer Park has brought the situation to a point where the Trailer Park is now "penciled in" to the LRDP—meaning that it might stay where it is, it might be relocated, or it might be taken out altogether, depending upon the decisions of the administration

## AND THE REPERCUSSIONS GO BEYOND

### THE INITIAL LOSS OF THE LAND...

- UCSC is expected to grow from a current student population of approximately 14,000 students to 21,000 full time students by the year 2020—with a growth rate of 400 new students per year. This is an increase of about 45%.

- It is estimated that UCSC would need \$400 million dollars to develop north campus.

- Development will drastically increase traffic and pollution: In Fall 2003, the average daily traffic was 15,321 vehicle trips at the campus' main entrance and 9,592 at the west entrance—an average of 1,703 trips per student. With 21,000 students such as UCSC is proposing to have by the year 2020, this will increase to approximately 36,000 vehicle trips per day.

- New growth will also put a strain on water in the Santa Cruz area, which is already greatly stressed from overuse by agriculture and current populations:

At 15,000 students the University will consume 408 million gallons of water a year. At 21,000 students approximately 571 million gallons of water would be consumed each year.

- There are possible plans to begin pumping from on campus wells that could have a severe impact on local streams. Another plan is to build a desalinization unit, which also has severe environmental consequences.
- Development will not only push to develop UC land, but will also push the city to develop 2,167 new housing units on Unincorporated land (previously undeveloped and semi-wilderness areas) by 2007.
- Construction will destroy habitat for many species: The growth of UCSC necessitates the destruction of the habitats of many species and leaves fragmented and decimated ecosystems in its wake.

Redwood Empire begins logging at Gamecock Canyon. Activists blockade Summit Road until injunction issued. Resistance continues over the next 3 years until monkeywrenching finally bankrupts the company, but not before Gamecock Canyon is trashed.

• Chicano Latino Resource Center (El Centro) opens.

1999

- Asian American/Pacific Islander Resource Center opens.

- December 3: 1,000 student protesters successfully halt introduction of grades.

2000

- June 18: Ramsey Gulch Treesit started by Earth First! with help from Canopy Action Network. Redwood Empire files a lawsuit, then withdraws it, that would bar treesitters



from property.

- American Indian Resource Center (formerly Native American Resource Center) opens.
- $E^2$  is first conceptualized with events organized by the Ethnic Student Organization Council and SUA in response to violence and racism on campus.
- May: More than 1000 students demonstrate to end once and for all the attempt to remove evals. Nevertheless, mandatory grades are voted in by the faculty senate. Evals kept optional.



# CONSTRUCTION BEGINS, DESTRUCTION FOLLOWS

Construction for the 2005 LRDP has started. Areas in upper campus are being clear-cut to make way for new buildings, or as the Regents would lead you to believe, education. With the state of California still in budget-crisis-mode and last year's fee increase, we can now see the fiscal irresponsibility of the UC Regents. In their view, expansion of the university was necessary and inevitable. Because of this view some of the last natural landscapes on the University and in Santa Cruz will die.

As the University expands in both population and in space, the workforce that manages its day-to-day operation remain the same. So not only will workers be required to do more work, it is unlikely that they will even be compensated for their increased workload.

The university is a business. And in business the old saying is that you have to spend money to make money. The university will spend millions on the new construction, and will make many more in profit once it is finished. This money will never end up in the hands of workers on campus or students in the form of fee decreases. In true business fashion, the profits will not trickle down. The Regents are the only ones that win in this situation. That is, if we allow them to.



## HERE'S HOW TO FIND OUT MORE AND GET INVOLVED:

- Student Environmental Center: [www.ucscsec.org](http://www.ucscsec.org)
- Undo UCSC website: [http://users.resist.ca/~undo\\_ucsc](http://users.resist.ca/~undo_ucsc)
- Education for Sustainable Living Program: [www.eslp.net/santacruz](http://www.eslp.net/santacruz)
- LRDP Committee: [lrpd-admin@ucsc.edu](mailto:lrpd-admin@ucsc.edu)
- Physical Planning and Construction: <http://ppc.ucsc.edu>
- Planning through 2020: [www.ucsc.edu/planning\\_2020](http://www.ucsc.edu/planning_2020)

## 2001

- On the 1-month anniversary of 9/11, 1500 people rallied at the base of campus to oppose a U.S. invasion of Afghanistan.
- African-American, Chicano/Latino, Native American, and Asian-American/Pacific Islander Resource centers open up in Bay Tree building.

## 2002

- A group of students passed a referendum allocating funding to address UCSC's low outreach and retention rates, and act as a vital hub for self and educational empowerment

within the community. The ballot measure swept the Spring 2003 student elections with 69% of the vote, setting up "Engaging Education" or "E2" (more info page 17).

- October 14- 15:  
As part of the



largest strike in UC history, the Coalition of University Employees (CUE), the clerical workers' union & the American Federation of Teachers (UC-AFT), the lecturers' union, stopped work at five different campuses in response to "unfair labor practices" on the part of the UC.



# An Injury to One is an Injury to All!

## Labor Organizing at UCSC

### WELCOME TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ.

*In your first weeks here you will probably do some, if not all, of the following things: buy books at the Baytree Bookstore; stand in line for a new student ID; eat meals in the dining halls; take showers in a regularly cleaned dorm bathroom, and throw last night's beer cans into the just-emptied dumpster outside your building.*

*As you do each of these things, take a minute to consider what is happening around you. This university is staffed by thousands of people who do everything from teach your classes to clean your common room. Consider that it is these people who make your university experience here possible. The University works because they do.*

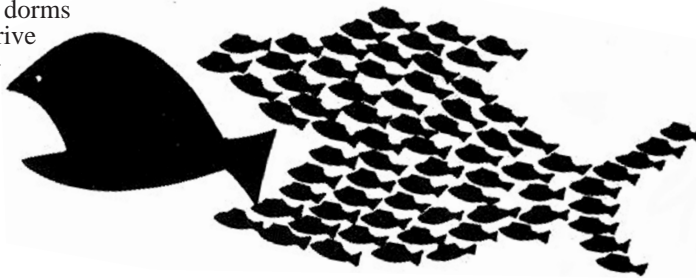
Unfortunately, the University of California, which functions essentially as one of the largest corporations in the state (see p. 6-9), also has one of the worst reputations as an employer. From its inception, the UC has been charged with labor violations: unsafe working conditions, poverty-level wages and refusal to negotiate in good faith with labor unions.

Labor unions are the primary organizations that represent workers and negotiate for their rights with their employers. They protect workers from unlawful termination and harassment, and organize to increase job security, wages and opportunities against the incessant rollbacks of corporations and our government. Most importantly, labor unions can build solidarity among groups of people who are all interested in the same thing: improving their ability to defend their rights and the value of their labor - no simple task at UC. Interested primarily in prestige, power and profit, the administrators and Regents of the University can be counted on to fight each year against the legally justified and entirely reasonable requests of its employees. And for what? UC is a public institution and yet it puts away record profits every fiscal close. Why? Because its priorities have nothing to do with improving education and the communities on and around campuses (see p. 11). Rather than respect the surrounding communities and the workers who come from them, the university treats them as expendable. This does not even come close to constituting a public service; instead, it is based entirely in private interests and on private models, only this corporation uses public funds and the fees and tuition of many hardworking students to serve the already rich and powerful.

The University can more than afford to take on its role as a public institution properly, to treat its employees with dignity and to keep its doors open to all students who wish to learn. Instead, it edges out more and more students with each fee hike and tuition increase. Instead, it denies its employees salaries that meet the cost of living, and imposes greater and greater workloads on the same number of workers, directly decreasing the quality of education and student life at UCSC.

What happens to the surplus money that the University makes each year? It's clearly not going to workers. It's certainly not going to our overcrowded classrooms, shrinking library or overburdened TAs. Where is all of this money going?! And what can we do to get it back?

The commitment to stand up together for all working people's rights is one of the most fundamental principles of the labor movement, both ethically and strategically. Solidarity - the key to resistance - develops when we build personal connections with the people in our communities. Get to know the people who clean your dorms and classrooms, the people who drive your buses and process your financial aid paperwork. Building relationships and alliances like this is not only crucial to resisting the rollback of our education, it also gives us a glimpse of what is lost in a system which prioritizes profit over people.



## Union Cheat Sheet

**AFSCME**, Association of Federal, State, Clerical and Municipal Employees:

groundskeepers, custodians, shuttle drivers and dining hall workers.  
jposadas@afscme3299.org, (831) 425-4822

**AFT**, American Federation of Teachers: lecturers.

www.cft.org, rwaft@aol.com

**UAW**, United Auto Workers:

Teachers Assistants  
www.uaw2865.org  
santacruz@uaw2865.org  
831.423.9737.

**CUE**, Coalition of University Employees: clerical workers.

www.cueunion.org  
cueorganizer@cruzio.com

**UPTE**, University Professional and Technical Employees:

technical support, lab assistants, researchers.

www.upte-ucsc.edu

upte@upte-ucsc.org

(831) 429-8783

Specifically, the UC was failing to negotiate in good faith with CUE (the union for clerical workers at UC) and UC-AFT (the lecturers), using such illegal tactics as deliberate stalling. UCSC was shut down not just by the two unions that had called the strike, but also through the tremendous support of members of other campus unions and student organizations standing in solidarity.

- Santa Cruz City Council weighs in on many national/international issues:
  - First city to pass resolutions against US war on Afghanistan,

- First city to oppose US war on Iraq.
- Joins cities across the country in opposing the Patriot Act, and raises question of impeachment of G.W. Bush with House Judiciary Committee.

- A coalition of 9 student organizations named Standing United for Peace (SUP) becomes active:
  - Rallies: 700-800 students rally on October 7; 150 march around campus and orchestrate a 'die-in' on November 20; and 300 demonstrate on March 5.







# Educate! Agitate! Organize!

(Watch Out! The TA's are bargaining this year for their next contract.)

\* UAW Local 2865 represents over 12,000 academic student employees (ASEs) throughout the University of California, including around 700 teaching assistants at UCSC. "Academic Student Employee" is a generic term for people on campus who are both academic workers—TAs, tutors, or readers—and students. At UCSC, the Local 2865 membership consists more or less entirely of graduate students who are TAs. At other UC campuses, the union also includes tutors and readers who are, very often, undergraduates.

Through the union, TAs and other ASEs are able to bargain collectively with the University over wages and working conditions. Unionization in the UC system is a result of a long series of struggles on different campuses. ASEs at UC Berkeley began to organize in 1983. A statewide strike for recognition occurred in 1998, followed by recognition in 1999 and a contract signed by the union and the University in 2000. ("Recognition" means the formal acknowledgement by an employer that a union represents a group of its employees for the purpose of collective bargaining; it is the legal prerequisite for bargaining a contract.) As a result of unionization, collective action, and dynamics within the state budget process, Local 2865 has had success at the bargaining table, achieving guaranteed benefits for ASEs which far exceed the national average.

This progress is by no means guaranteed. The contract is up for bargaining during the 06-07 school year, and the climate within the University and the state is unfavorable. The University educates more students with the same or fewer resources each year, throughout the system but particularly at UCSC; this threatens quality of education for undergraduates and working conditions for teaching assistants. Classroom sizes have been on the rise at UCSC, degrading the educational experience for students and forcing TAs to speed up their work, being less thorough and attentive with individual students; this also degrades the quality of the teaching experience and TAs' working conditions. The University has taken a very aggressive stance towards its unions in bargaining over the past few years; members of AFSCME, CUE, and UPTE have been threatened with severe cutbacks.

The only way to confront this dynamic is collective organizing, and different forces within the university community need to come together and be there for each others' struggles for that to be possible. Together, TAs, undergraduates, faculty, service workers,

clerical, technical, and professional workers, and city residents can fight the university's attempt to expand by diluting the quality of education. Our working conditions are your learning conditions!

UAW Members for Quality Education and Democracy (UAW-QUAD) is a group of TA/union activists, based on the Santa Cruz campus, who are organizing with two main goals in mind: 1) to make the connections between TAs and the rest of the campus community, organizing around the links between our struggles, especially around quality of education issues, and 2) to build democratic, accountable structures and cultures within the union. The UAW-QUAD website has some good educational materials on the history of the local, which you can find at [www.uaw-quad.org](http://www.uaw-quad.org); to find out about upcoming meetings and activism on campus, email [uaw\\_quad@yahoo.com](mailto:uaw_quad@yahoo.com).

If you're a TA and you need representation for a workplace issue, you should contact the union at [santacruz@uaw2865.org](mailto:santacruz@uaw2865.org) or 831.423.9737.

## UC \$alaries

*Within the University of California there are vast discrepancies in pay between the service workers, professors, and administrators. Over the past several years, there has been a continuing trend of rising administrator salaries. At the same time that these salaries have been rising, student tuition has dramatically increased, and faculty and staff pay have not been increased to account for the rising cost of living in California. Below are some of the salaries of UC employees:*

President Robert Dynes: \$395,000

Average chancellor's salary: \$290,490

Average tenure-track professor: \$91,934

Average first-year lecturer: \$39,900

Food Service Worker \$22,817

Janitor \$21,180

-The SUP actions were each part of nation-wide days of action with participation from schools across the country.

-SUP also organizes teach-ins, tabling, a peace camp, and carpools to the big antiwar rallies in San Francisco.

2003

- E2 center opens.
- The Dump Sodexho campaign begins:
  - In January food service workers, students, and the union local AFSCME 3299 come together

to start a campaign to cancel the University's contract with Sodexho. Sodexho, the largest food service provider in the world, ran the dining halls at UCSC, making obscene profits while paying its workers poverty wages, not providing health care or full-time employment, and disrespecting dining hall staff on a daily basis.

-February 14: 150 students and workers rally to demand:

1. That the University cancel its contract with Sodexho,

2. That all workers currently employed by Sodexho be brought on as full University employees.

-March 3: UCSC publicly agrees to coalition demands.

-September: All former Sodexho employees are hired by the University, winning dignified salaries, full time jobs and health care for their families, union representation through AFSCME 3299, and respect. VICTORY!!!



# Timeline: Victory for UC Sweatfree Campaign

By Sara Bloomberg

•**1999:** UC adopts a Code of Conduct for Trademark Licensees after dealing with intense pressure from students and becomes a founding member of the Workers Rights Consortium (WRC), a non-profit factory monitor that is independent of apparel industry. **2000-** university apparel is sourced from factories that 1) respect workers' right to associate, 2) pay a living wage, 3) pay over time, 4) don't use child or otherwise forced labor, 5) comply with health and safety laws, 6) don't discriminate against, harass, or abuse workers.

•**1999-2005:** Conditions improve in several factories around the world because of pressure from university codes of conduct. However, those very improvements have been undermined as brands began cutting orders to these factories, claiming that they were becoming 'too expensive' to order from. Brands have been able to cut-and-run from good factories to sweatshops because university codes of conduct haven't been able to effectively enforce compliance. This is because there are thousands, upon thousands, of factories being used to produce university apparel around the world. It is impossible to externally monitor these numbers with any accuracy.

•**September 2005:** Students around the nation, headed by the international student organizing body United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS), unveils a program to concentrate the university apparel market into a smaller number of factories, making enforcement easier and compliance obligatory. Called the Designated Suppliers Program (DSP), factories will be 'designated' good by the WRC (along the lines of university codes of conduct). Brands will have to either shift production or bring their own factories up to code in order to continue using them to produce university apparel. Sweatshops will be phased out over a period of 3 to 4 years.

•**October 2005:** UCSC SweatFree Coalition holds a rally to demand the UC adopt the DSP, including a provision to purchase non-sweatshop uniforms for workers on campus. February 8, 2006- we meet with Chancellor Denton for the first (and as of May 1st only) time. She tells us to stay in touch with her assistant and to bring her more 'proof' of campus support for this issue.

•**February 10:** 400 students rally outside of the UC Office of the President (UCOP) to demand a "SweatFree" university.

•**March 1:** Naked Protest held at the base of the UCSC campus. Other naked protests and other actions happen at other UC campuses as well.

•**March 10:** 17 of us from various UC campuses (San Diego, Riverside, Santa Cruz, Berkeley, Davis) infiltrate UCOP and stage of "preview" sit-in for one hour to demand that President Dynes adopt the DSP. We are given an appointment to meet with President Dynes on April 6- he subsequently cancels this meeting and declares that he would attend the Code of Conduct Committee meeting, instead, on April 13th, (which he later reneged on as well).

•**March 16:** We put on a "Sweatshop Fashion Show" in the quarry plaza to highlight the fact that our Slug wear is still made in sweatshops.

•**April 11:** We commence 2 sit-ins to demand that the UC finally adopt the DSP. The sit-ins happen at the chancellors' offices at Berkeley and Riverside. 18 students are arrested at Berkeley after 2 hours. 10 students are arrested at Riverside after nearly 12 hours.

•**April 13:** Code of Conduct Committee meets. Within 2 weeks, it makes a recommendation in favor of the adoption of the DSP (but

leaves of the provision for workers' uniforms).

•**May 3:** President Dynes meets with the Chancellors to discuss the Committee's recommendation.

•**May 5:** the UC officially adopts the DSP! Students and workers win!! The uniform issue is postponed for further review. The UC joins over 20 other universities and colleges around the nation that have already adopted the program.



"The University of California ("UC") is committed to the timely implementation of the Designated Suppliers Program ("DSP") proposed by United Students Against Sweatshops, under the following conditions:

1. After an appropriate phase in period (as contemplated by the DSP), UC will require licensees, in the first year of implementation, to buy not less than 25 percent of logo apparel from factories that pay a living wage, respect associational rights as demonstrated by the presence in the factory of a legitimate union or other representative employee body, and sell the majority of their products to university licensees (or to other buyers willing to meet the same standards and pricing obligations as university licensees). If UC determines, following the first year of implementation, that the DSP is improving conditions for workers and helping to achieve compliance with the requirements of the UC Code of Conduct for Trademark Licensees, and that the DSP is also meeting UC requirements with respect to the manufacture and delivery of UC logo apparel, then the percentage requirement will be increased to in excess of 25 percent. If UC determines, following the first year of implementation, that there is a need to reassess ongoing implementation of the DSP, UC reserves the right to do so

2. UC will require licensees to pay DSP factories prices sufficient to make it possible for the standards listed in paragraph 1 to be met.

3. Licensee compliance with the foregoing requirements of the DSP will be enforced by the Workers Rights Consortium in order to ensure verification by an organization that is independent of the apparel industry."

- February 15-16: 11 million people in 600 cities around the world make their opposition to a US invasion of Iraq known in the largest protest in history. 5000-7000 (by police estimates) rally in downtown Santa Cruz.
- On the day after the war began, 20,000 people, including many from Santa Cruz, shut down San Francisco's business district with mass civil disobedience. Protesters targeted offices of companies such as Bechtel and the Carlyle Group who stood to make millions off of the war.
- The Coalition to Demilitarize the UC

forms to end military research at the UC, including UC management of the country's nuclear weapons labs (see pg 26).

- Students successfully lobby to get fair-trade certified coffee served in the dining halls. This ensured that at least \$1.26 per pound of coffee went to the coffee farmers, a vast improvement over the \$0.55/lb poverty wage offered by the conventional market.

## 2004

- Starting Spring quarter, coffee served in the dining halls was purchased direct from a coffee growing cooperative in Costa Rica through the Community Agroecology Network, earning \$3.77/lb. for the farmer.

- A radical campus newspaper, "The Project" starts up.





# Knowledge! War! Capital!

*A brief introduction to the  
military-industrial-academic complex*

By Aaron Dankman



The University of California operates a total of ten campuses which enroll more than 208,000 students annually and employ over 120,000 thousand staff and faculty. It is arguably the most prestigious public university in the world. But what is this massive conglomeration of buildings, resources, and people? What ends and whose interests does the UC serve?

The UC's current research and development priorities have their roots in the development of what President Dwight Eisenhower called the 'military-industrial complex.' Soon after World War II, the United States federal government began to tinker with the Keynesian economic model largely associated with Franklin Roosevelt, shifting federal investment focus away from civil works; the new model prioritized private profit and technologies of destruction

instead. Over time, a single, vast enterprise came to dominate university research policy and funding nationwide: the conglomeration of the military and private

industry.

This vertically ordered organization persists today and ties most big-budget universities and corporations all the way back to Department of Defense headquarters. Universities comply in order to maintain funding, while corporate participation is motivated by profit. As technologies are refined to the point of profitability they are patented in the private sector and produced for military use or sold back to the public who financed the initial undertaking in the first place. Over fifty percent of for-profit research and development conducted in the electronics, computer, aeronautics,

metallurgy, laser, and telecommunications industries has been done with the public's money.

Through the centralized coordination structures that emerged in the sixties as well as monopolization of research funding options, military interests maintain broad control over the total science base down to its very roots. As writer Brian Martin pointed out: "Military funding also affects what are thought to be the key questions within certain fields, such as certain computational challenges in the early days of computers. This affects areas as diverse as the study of climate, gravitational anomalies, genetic engineering and group psychology."

This "Pentagon Kapitalism", as political economist Seymour Melman called it, pervades all levels of our educational system, prioritizing death over life and aggression over cooperation. As Julian Huxley, a British biologist, remarked in 1934, "If you are willing to pay for more [people] and more facilities in war research than, say, medical research, you will get more results adapted to killing people, and less adapted to keeping them alive." Within these circumstances, what some call 'science-for-its-own-sake' is impossible. The practice of science in this country is presently subservient to the mutually reinforcing interests of war and capital.

This points to the very foundations of war in today's world, and these insights could be crucial in the building of an effective anti-war movement. Protest against the war must mean protest against the weaponry which fuels war; it must mean protesting the apparatuses and funding that employ science to the ends of war.

Knowledge, war, and capital form three axes of U.S. militarism today, and the future of antiwar movements depends on our ability to realize those connections and thus coordinate effective resistance.

- May 20: 300 workers and students kicked off a campaign for a better contract for AFSCME workers with a rally at the chancellor's office. 2450 pledges by students to stand with workers, and 300 pledges signed by union members were formally presented to the chancellor's office in a demonstration of our ability to mobilize and hold the administration accountable. This action was just the beginning of a larger campaign for

worker's rights.

- September 29: US Marshals and FCC Agents raid Free Radio Santa Cruz, but an outpouring of community support allows FRSC to get back on the air.

2005

- January 20: UCSC Students Against War (SAW) forms.
- April 5: SAW leads its first major action as students successfully kick military

recruiters out of the campus job fair.

- April 14: AFSME 3299 strike SHUTS DOWN CAMPUS and leads to a better contract for campus service workers, including sweatshop-free uniforms.



# UC MANAGES ARMAGEDDON

On April 15, 1943 the Regents of the University of California signed a contract with the federal government to manage and operate the Los Alamos National Laboratory. The UC has continued its relationship with Los Alamos, the birthplace of the atomic bomb, until this very day. Know what that means? It means that **every nuclear weapon in the United States arsenal was designed by a University of California employee.**

During WWII when the UC agreed to manage the lab, they literally didn't know what they were getting themselves into, as the work being done at Los Alamos was top secret—nobody except the lab scientists and the Army Corp of Engineers knew the full extent of the destructive power being designed there. Since then, however, the Regents have had sufficient time

to learn of the lab's activities, and although their relationship with the lab has undergone decades of resistance from students and faculty alike, the Regents continue to renew the contract every five years.

In 1952, the country's second Nuclear Weapons Laboratory, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL), began operations. Despite the Regents' attempts to distance themselves from and even sever ties with Los Alamos after the bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the dark secret of Los Alamos became public, they maintained their management of the first lab and took Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory under their broken wing. The labs are officially a part of the Department of Energy, not the Department of Defense, so it is ultimately the DOE that the UC works with in its management.

The Regents commonly justify their management of the laboratories as "a public service to the nation." However, every study and report commissioned on the topic, from the Zinner Report to the 1996 University Commission on Research Policy Report, has concluded that the management of the labs fails to qualify as a public service, and most advocate severing ties with the labs. Their prospects of qualifying the management as a public service may have been negated by the questionable business relations some of the Regents have with the labs. Take Richard Blum, who until last year was the Vice President of URS which had a construction contract with LANL for \$25 million a year. He has since resigned after this information became a media focus, but still holds over 100,000 shares of stock in the company. Such conflicts of interest are not uncommon to the UC Regents (see "Who Rules the University" on page 6).

Today, the UC managed laboratories have a combined workforce of about 20,000 and operate on a federally financed budget totaling over \$4 billion. Along with nuclear weapons research, LANL and LLNL conduct civilian studies, including energy and medical research. The vast amount of funding, however, given by the DOE to the UC for management of the labs is used for weapons maintenance and research. In 2006, LANL received \$1.36 billion for research and development of nuclear weapons, which was 73% of its entire DOE funding for that year. 87% of LLNL's research was devoted to weapons activities for that same year. For 2007, civilian programs are being cut even further as weapons programs get a boost to their budget. It is doubtful, however, that the non-weapons programs will be fully cut because lab managers see them as integral to attracting new employees. Oftentimes weapons scientists at the labs begin with non-weapons research and are later transferred.

The DOE spends billions of dollars on various nuclear weapons programs, including the Stockpile Stewardship Program (SSP), which provides for maintenance and upgrades of every nuclear weapon the US has (all 10,000 of them) as well as for the production of new nuclear weapons. The goal of the SSP is to enhance the capabilities of the US nuclear weapons stockpile under the guise of stabilizing an already existing arsenal of weaponry. The Reliable Replacement Warhead program's stated purpose is similar to the SSP, but involves

- April 18-22: Tent University Santa Cruz (TUSC) takes place at the base of campus.



-April 18: Berkeley riot police arrest and brutalize students who refuse to leave the base of campus after "free speech zone" hours end.  
-April 19: The DA drops all charges facing students.



Photo: "Death of Diversity" skit

- Early June: Rally to save the African American Theater History Class results in the class being offered the next quarter.

- October 7: 200 people turn out for a rally, organized by the Student Worker

Coalition for Justice, in support of striking metro bus drivers (UTU Local 23). Drivers struck for 37 days against bad faith bargaining by the Metro Board of Directors.

- October 18: SAW organizes a "Queer Kiss-in" in front of military recruiter tables at the fall job fair to highlight the





the actual radioactive components of the warheads. Such programs actually reduce the reliability of the nuclear weapons stockpiles because new, untested components are constantly being added. This can only lead to resumed nuclear testing, and the production of new nuclear weapons. Though a huge portion of the DOE's budget is devoted to these weapons programs (\$6.4 billion, or 69% of their FY2007 budget), there exists very little public information about them because they are essentially military secrets.

In the Bush administration's rush for more "usable" nuclear weapons, the DOE laboratories, until last year, researched and designed a Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator (RNEP), which would burrow deep into the ground before detonating "bunker-buster-style." Several major complications arose.

First of all, though the object of detonating a nuclear bomb underground is to reduce the fallout, based upon a technical analysis at the Nevada Test site, a 10 kiloton bomb (the yield of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima, a relatively small yield today) would need to be buried at least 850 feet to prevent fallout from erupting out of the ground. The bomb that currently penetrates the deepest is the B61-11 nuclear warhead, which, with its specially designed and reinforced casing, can penetrate a full 20 feet of dirt. Even so, a completely contained explosion actually increases fallout by radioactively contaminating and scattering hundreds of tons of debris.

The Bush administration's rhetoric has been heavily saturated with threats of first-strike nuclear use, and the mere production of a new nuclear weapon designed for battlefield use has disastrous consequences for efforts at nuclear nonproliferation, which are exemplified in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The Bush administration has been hypocritically condemning Iran for using nuclear energy, which the NPT allows, while simultaneously developing new and modified nuclear weapons, which the NPT forbids.

The research and development of weapons of mass destruction continues only under the cloak of academic neutrality and integrity that the UC offers these laboratories. Under the guise of beneficial scientific research, backed by one of the nation's most respected institutions of higher learning, laboratory scientists and

bureaucrats are able to continue building weapons of mass destruction.

As if cultivating the potential for unprecedented destruction wasn't bad enough, the UC has proven a woefully incompetent manager in some startlingly important respects: despite the fact that its sole charge is to execute the orders it receives from Congress and the DOE, the UC has channeled its propensity for scandal to its management of the labs. UC management has been so bad—problems have included harassment of employees engaged in reporting safety violations, missing classified data and storage of plutonium in

paint cans—that for the first time in recent history, UC management contracts were not renewed. Instead, they went up for bid. Undeterred by its history of failure, dereliction, and

**"The research and development of weapons of mass destruction continues only under the cloak of academic neutrality and integrity that the UC offers these laboratories."**

abuse, the UC decided not to give up on LANL management and to submit a bid for the new management contract.

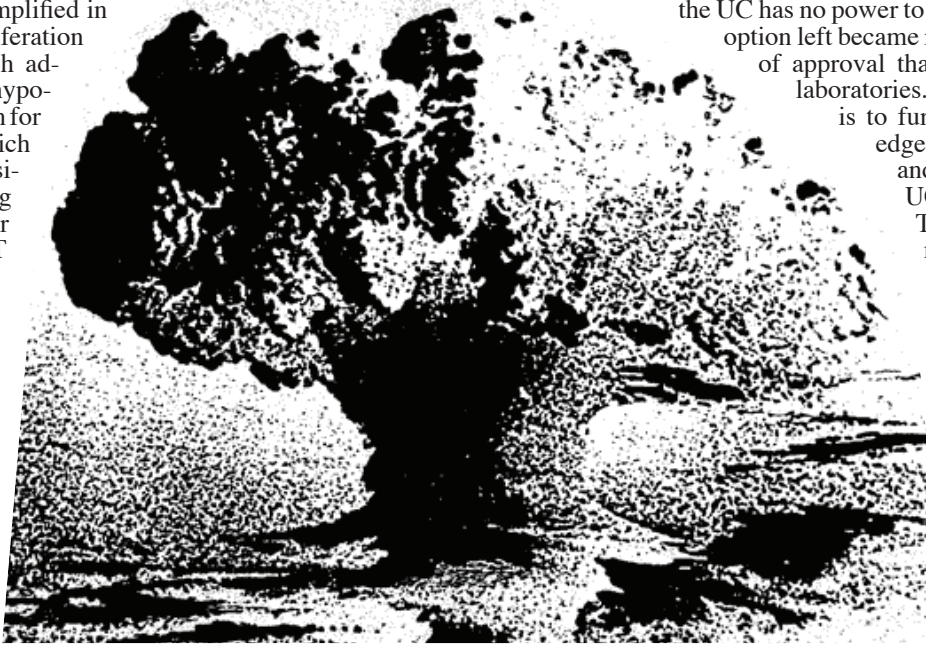
In an effort to make its bid more competitive, the UC partnered with war profiteer Bechtel Corporation despite massive student protest, and it plans to do the same for the Livermore contract this coming year. Los Alamos is now managed by a limited liability corporation, leading many scientists to jump ship in light of the coming shift towards profit-oriented research.

If the UC Regents are willing to partner with war profiteers and human rights violators in order to maintain management of the laboratories, they can hardly be counted upon to act as a moral compass for these facilities. In the past, the students and faculty of the UC have overwhelmingly condemned the Regents' ties with the labs, and called for their severance. When it became apparent that

the UC has no power to transform the labs, the only option left became removing the academic seal of approval that the university offers the laboratories. The University's purpose is to further the pursuit of knowledge for the benefit of society and humanity. Currently, the UC is failing that mission.

The creation of weapons of mass destruction does not contribute to the good of our society, only to the pocketbooks of insatiable corporations. Through their unsavory dealings, the Regents have turned our University into a stepping stone to profitable business contracts, legitimizing greed with our ideas, resources, and reputation. The only question left is:

*Will we stand by and let them?*



military's discriminatory policies.

- December: MSNBC leaks part of a Pentagon surveillance database that lists SAW's April 5, 2005 counter-recruitment action as a "credible threat" to national security; SAW members begin working with the ACLU to release the rest of the report.

## 2006

- February 13-16: students organize a week-long event called "New Orleans: An American Disaster" to educate the campus about the institutionalized disparities magnified by Hurricane

Katrina.

- Winter quarter: TWANAS resumes publication of student newspaper.
- April 11: SAW kicks recruiters off of campus for the 3rd time in a row.
- May 1: Hundreds of students rally at the base of campus in support of immigrant rights and then march to the beach flats to join a community rally (see page 41).
- May 5: The UC Sweatfree campaign ends in victory (see page 24).
- Spring quarter: the Save Our Languages

campaign demands prioritization of UCSC Language Programs (see page 18).

- June 6: The Affirmative Diversity Coalition (see page 16) holds mass rally to demand concrete infrastructural support for diversity at UCSC.

## 2007...

**YOU DECIDE!**



The previous pages detailed some of the hidden connections between the military and the University of California. The presence of military recruiters at UCSC job fairs is another (more visible) sign of this connection.

## Military Recruiters and the LIES They Tell

**"The reason to have a military is to be prepared to fight and win wars. The military is not a social welfare agency, it's not a jobs program."**

*-Dick Cheney, current Vice President and former Secretary of Defense*

As the occupation of Iraq rages on and casualties continue to climb, it is easy to feel hopeless and helpless about stopping the war. Recruitment at campus job fairs is a clear manifestation of the military entering into our local community; it is a concrete thing to get worked up about and to mobilize against. In this way, taking action against recruiters is a way to combat the war machine right here in Santa Cruz.

In fact, we have successfully kept recruiters from recruiting on this campus for the past year and a half. The first of these victories happened on April 5, 2005 when over 300 students held a march and rally to protest the recruiters' presence, eventually prompting them to leave. As you may have heard, this action got noticed by the Pentagon and was labeled as a "credible threat" on a government surveillance list. The next job fair, in October 2005, Students Against War organized a rally outside of the job fair and a "queer kiss-in" on the inside. This involved a wall of same-sex couples kissing in front of the recruiters' tables to highlight the discriminatory and homophobic nature of the military's Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy. The next job fair on April 11, 2006 saw a return to more conventional tactics as over 150 students participated in a march and sit-in in the pouring rain. This successfully blocked off military recruiters but left the rest of the job fair accessible to interested students.

Check out [www.indybay.org/santacruz](http://www.indybay.org/santacruz) for more information about these actions and the reactions that they generated. Also, see page 29 for a more in-depth discussion of the tactics involved.

It is important to remember that military enlistment doesn't just happen at UCSC job fairs, and it certainly doesn't just happen to college students. Recruiters come to UCSC to attract future military officers and bureaucrats, but they are much more aggressive when recruiting high school students for the front lines—especially low-income folks and people of color. In light of this, perhaps the most powerful tool you have against enlistment is your voice, not only shouted in three word chants at protests, but also in day-to-day conversation with others. If you know someone who is thinking about joining the military, talk to them about it. Don't antagonize them, but try to hear where they're coming from. We hope that this fact sheet can help.

### LIES DEBUNKED

**LIE #1: The military provides valuable, high tech job training that will prepare you for a civilian career.**

- Veterans earn an average of 19% less than non-veterans.

- Only 12% of male veterans and 6% of female veterans use job skills learned in the military in their civilian careers.

**LIE #2: The military will pay for your college education, you can get up to \$70,000.**

- You have to pay a non-refundable fee of \$1200 just to enroll in the Montgomery GI Bill.

- If you are among the 20% that gets a "less than honorable discharge" or if you decide not to go to school then that money is gone.

- Only 15% of those eligible for the GI Bill complete a four-year college program and collect the entire amount.

- 65% of the recruits who pay the required \$1200 into the Montgomery GI Bill never get a cent in return.

- So few enlistees are able to take advantage of the GI Bill that the military actually makes a profit off the program—it takes in \$72 million more every year than it pays out.

**LIE #3: Join the Reserves or National Guard and you'll only have to serve one weekend a month.**

- 40% of the soldiers in Iraq today are members of the National Guard or Reserves. Many have seen their enlistments and tours of duty extended by "stop loss" orders.

- The enlistment contract contains a clause that allows the military to alter any provision of the contract without even notifying you.

- You can be called back at any time! The fine print of the enlistment contract (Section 9) states that recruits can be kept in the military indefinitely, or called back from the reserves many years later, especially as part of the "war on terror" which has no foreseeable end.

**LIE #4: The military takes care of its own with excellent retirement and disability benefits.**

- Budget cuts have forced the Veterans Administration to charge veterans entering into its system a \$250 annual fee in order for them to receive treatment.

- According to the Veteran's Administration, 1/3 of all homeless people are veterans.

### TACTICS REVEALED

- Recruiters are salespeople. They are trained in the same corporate sales techniques and have quotas to meet just like other salespeople.

- The U.S. General Accounting Office found that the military's recruiting advertising budget doubled from \$300 million to nearly \$600 million between 1998 and 2003.

- The overall recruiting budget last year approached \$4 billion.

- Recruiter misconduct is rampant: They have been caught on tape helping potential recruits forge high school diplomas and fake drug tests. One recruiter was caught threatening high-school students with jail time for refusing to meet with him.

### RACISM, SEXUAL ABUSE, & HOMOPHOBIA

- People of color represent 1/3 of all enlisted personnel but only 1/8 of all officers.

- 75% of African Americans and 61% of Latinos report discriminatory behavior in the military.

- According to the Veteran's Administration, 90% of the women in the military have experienced sexual harassment, and 30% of these have been raped.

- A recently released Associated Press report found that in 2005 alone, more than 80 recruiters faced disciplinary action for sexual misconduct with potential enlistees.

- Since 1996, 722 Army recruiters have been accused of rape and sexual misconduct. It is likely, of course, that the number of reported cases is far lower than the actual number of incidents.

- You cannot be openly homosexual in the military.



# Direct Action Gets the Goods

By David Zlutnick,  
UCSC Students Against War (SAW)

The importance of direct action must be realized when approaching most any movement for social justice, but for effective anti-war organizing it is especially key. Over the past years it has become increasingly evident to a growing number that the few in power do not have our interests at heart. Their "representation" boils down to nothing more than the fact that Americans feel they have to choose the lesser of two evils. Neither Democrats nor Republicans have any plan to withdraw US troops from the region and leave the Iraqis to decide for themselves the society in which they want to live.

On the local level organizers must realize the same: political representation is not working with us to stop this war and the continued militarization of our communities. Democrats, acting the role of "patriots," continue to glorify and praise the military, refusing to stand up to an institution that is centered on death and destruction and continues to be used for global control and imperialistic policies. As part of a movement actively resisting military recruitment in our schools it is imperative to recognize the role "liberal" politicians (or school administrators as it may be) play in the systematic protection afforded to the recruiters, especially through the Solomon Amendment.

The Solomon Amendment, established in 1996, makes a school's denial of access of military recruiters to the student body punishable by a withdrawal of federal funding.

The law was recently upheld in the Supreme Court case *FAIR v. Rumsfeld*, as well as in a vote in the House of Representatives where it was overwhelmingly supported across party lines with a total of 347 in favor against 65 in opposition. With this sort of political backing and consequences that could be fatal to a university, school administrations are left in a bind where they are forced to allow the military on campus.

However, they are not required legally to protect them to the lengths they do. As we have seen at UC Santa Cruz the administration is more than willing to go through extra trouble to aid the recruiters in dodging student protest, including hiring extra riot police and banning media from career fairs. It should be very clear that an uncooperative administration and a federal law backed by the power of both parties cannot be beaten back by gathering signatures or passing resolutions.

Of course, they would only help if you can get them, and SAW has tried in the past. However, usually this method proves to be more trouble than it's worth because legally there is nothing to be done even if there is a massive show of support for banning recruiters from school. Plus, most student governments are constructed very much like the larger political system and our repre-

sentatives are often less than strong-willed when it comes to issues that may come in conflict with the status quo. We quickly abandoned the petitions, resolutions, and administrative negotiations because it was quite evident that they had no hope for success.

Recognizing that the administration's hands were tied, SAW did initially attempt to work with them in hopes of creating a working relationship mutually opposed to militarization. But this proved to be a problem, as they were not budging on any of their repressive measures to stop protests and were instead trying to use the meetings as a way of co-opting SAW to bring us under control. Following these incidences the group has adopted a position extremely weary of any cooperation with authority—whether it be school administration, police, or politicians—as we have put ourselves out

on the line, despite our initial instincts, numerous times and have only been met with hostility or feigned cooperation laced with ulterior motives.

The only way to confront a system stacked with economic and political power such as this is to take direct action. This means to put down the pen and pick up the barricades. SAW was founded on this principle, that we must be the change we want to see. If the student government wants to pass a resolution against military recruiters we will gladly accept their support, but that won't make recruiters stop coming. If we want them off our campus we must force them off.

There are many misconceptions about direct action and many believe it is inherently violent. SAW is continuously characterized in the mainstream media and by our administration as a "violent" organization because this is a useful tool for them to discredit our victories. SAW has never organized a violent protest, and any incidents of violence have always originated from the opposing side—the police and school administrators—and protesters have shown remarkable restraint in the face of such repression. Direct action does not mean violence, it means confronting injustice head-on in order to make it cease without the use of inef-



fectual intermediaries such as our "elected" representatives.

On three occasions now SAW has prevented the military from recruiting at UCSC career fairs, meaning they haven't been able to recruit for almost two years. This is because all three times protesters have surrounded the recruiters, blocking their efforts, and twice removed them from the premises. The difference between tactics of direct and indirect action is if we had gathered petitions to present to an administrator and held a protest outside the career fair the

recruiters still would have been able to work, but instead we made it physically impossible for them to have access to a single student, thereby making their efforts completely worthless.

Direct action is vital to the effectiveness of an anti-war movement not only because of its tactical value in achieving concrete objectives, but also for the necessary construction of empowered participants. Direct action is a radicalizing force allowing those taking part to establish ownership over the process of change. The systematic disconnection between the populace and the political process is so vast that establishing a fervor for social justice is somewhat of a miracle it seems, but creating a space for people to directly confront those wrongs brings that passion out like no other means. Direct participation to attain tangible goals inspires political involvement and long-term dedication, plain and simple.

The success of SAW has hinged primarily on its belief in direct action and its refusal to be co-opted into the school's bureaucracy, its refusal to waste its time campaigning for a "lesser of two evils" candidate, and its refusal to compromise on its beliefs. If we want to see a world without war, without militaries, constructed based on our collective voice, based on our direct participation, then we must demand it and build it ourselves.

# Our Tuition Funds the Occupation:

Revealing the University of California's Connection to Israeli Apartheid

By Jacob Pace

The occupation of Iraq has opened a new discourse in the United States. We are now able to discuss the reality of "occupation" as never before. Behind the political rhetoric, we are faced with the ever emerging reality of an indigenous Iraqi population resisting a violent and oppressive alien army. This is a reality that has been present in Palestine for many years. Like the occupation of Iraq, Israel's occupation of the Palestinian Territories represents a clear violation of international law and the principle of self-determination. It is only with the support of U.S. citizens and institutions that these violations are able to occur and the violence of occupation continues.

From the beginning, the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians has been skewed in favor of the Israeli government. The terms of the debate have been shaped by Israel's monopolization of military power. Israel has negotiated with tanks, bulldozers, helicopter gunships, and the fourth largest military in the world. In contrast, the Palestinians have been forced to appeal constantly for international assistance while continuing mass resistance and desperate acts of violence. This imbalance in power has resulted in the formation of violent and racist policies by Israeli officials governing the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

The conflict began in 1948 when 800,000 Palestinians were forced to flee their homes in what became the state of Israel. Today, there are 5 million Palestinian refugees. Many of these refugees now live in camps in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, two territories which were invaded and occupied by the Israeli army in 1967. In blatant violation of International Law, Israel continues to occupy those territories (along with East Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights) and the refugees have never been allowed to return to their homes.

The Israeli occupation manifests itself every day in the life of Palestinian civilians. Curfews lock residents in their homes for days while Israeli snipers shoot anyone outside. Home demolitions come without warning leaving entire families in tents. Random arrests, detentions, and population transfers are a common occurrence. Targeted extra-judicial executions are carried out by Israeli helicopter gunships and fighter jets firing missiles into civilian neighborhoods. Meanwhile, military checkpoints and other physical barriers keep the Palestinian population fragmented and humiliated.

Israel is now rapidly constructing a vast Wall on Palestinian soil. The Wall cuts through Palestinian land, illegally appropriating over 50% of the occupied territories. Instead of separating Israelis from Palestinians, it encircles indigenous Palestinian communities, forming ghettos and cutting them off from agricultural lands and the rest of the population. Meanwhile, Israeli bulldozers destroy agricultural lands and homes in the Wall's path.

The Wall exhibits the degree to which the Israeli occupation is more than just daily oppression. In fact, it is a targeted colonial

endeavor. The military clears the way for Israeli settlements which are built on strategic locations in the territories. The settler movement and its counterparts in the Israeli government openly advocate Israeli annexation of Palestinian land and the "transfer" (ethnic cleansing) of all Palestinians. Ministers in the Israeli government openly support this racist ideology.

This is the foundation of Israeli Apartheid. Just as white residents of South Africa were granted privileges far surpassing native Africans, Israeli Jewish settlers also enjoy vast privileges over their indigenous Palestinian neighbors. Settlers live in lavish settlements with "Jewish only" roads and highly armed militias. The Wall represents a concrete manifestation of the separation and inequality forming the basis of these Apartheid policies. Meanwhile, Palestinian civilians are denied their rights to human dignity and self-determination.

Israel is only able to maintain its occupation because of support from the United States. The US government grants Israel more aid than any other country (\$6.3 billion a year specifically for the Israeli military) and US institutions invest vast sums in the Israeli economy. The University of California is one such investor. At least \$3.5 billion of the UC Endowment is invested in companies with operations in Israel. For instance, General Electric has strong ties to the Israeli military and receives an average of \$650 million from the University per year.

New Israeli settlements continue to be built in the West Bank because building companies profit off of expropriating Palestinian land. The occupation is possible only as long as it remains invisible to the majority of the Israeli public and the global community. A successful divestment campaign would force international companies to choose profit over occupation. It would disrupt business as usual in the Israeli economy, forcing the Israeli public to think critically about the injustices perpetuated by their government.

Without addressing the structural imbalance of power, no peace agreement will succeed. Instead the Palestinians will continue to be the victims of an aggressive and colonizing Israeli state. In the 1980's UC students forced the University to sever its financial ties with South Africa which Mandela has cited as an important factor in the fall of the Apartheid government. We must now renew our calls for justice and demand that our money is not used to fund Israeli Apartheid.

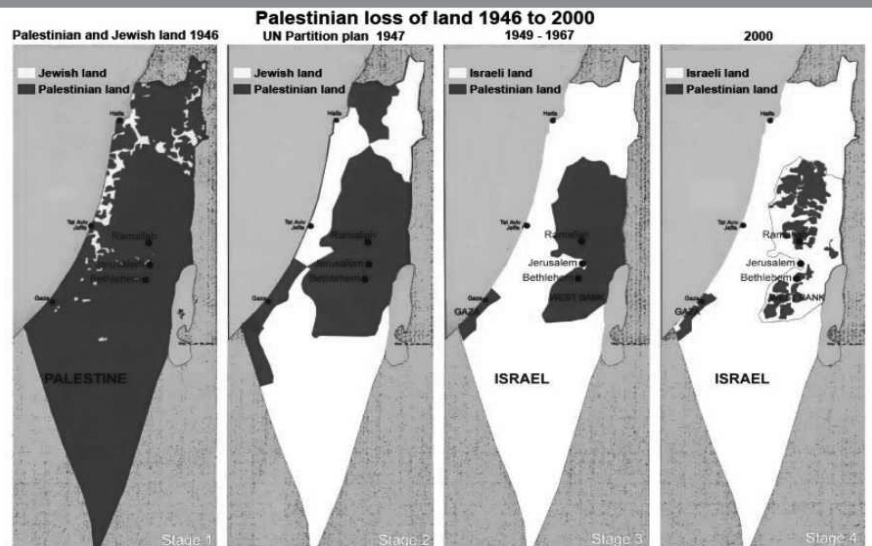
For more information visit:

UC Divestment Campaign  
ucdivest.org

The Electronic Intifada  
electronicintifada.net

B'Tselem:  
btselem.org

To get involved, check out the UCSC Committee for Justice in Palestine: [cjp.vze.com](http://cjp.vze.com)





So, one of the most important ways to redeem our education is by looking at everything we are learning through an anti-racist lens. Upon reflection, it is clear that the ideology of white supremacy persists in today's world...it is constructed and maintained through a combination of deceptive storytelling and brute force. Although the system of white supremacy pervades every aspect of the lives of white folks, it remains invisible to most of them...and herein lies its power. After all, if we don't understand what it is, nor see the repercussions of its existence, then how can we challenge it? In order to defy this system, it is essential that we look at the fibers of racism that have been woven into the fabric of society.



# Unpacking White Privilege Checklist

by Peggy McIntosh

- ☐ I can arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
- ☐ I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
- ☐ I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
- ☐ When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization" I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
- ☐ I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
- ☐ I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the food I grew up with, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can deal with my hair.
- ☐ Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial responsibility.
- ☐ I am not made acutely aware that my shape, bearing, or body odor will be taken as a reflection on my race.
- ☐ I can worry about racism without being seen as self-interested or self-seeking.
- ☐ I can take a job or enroll in a college with an affirmative action policy without having my co-workers or peers assume I got it because of my race.
- ☐ I can be late to a meeting without having the lateness reflect on my race.
- ☐ I can choose public accommodation without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated.
- ☐ I am never asked to speak for all of the people of my racial group.
- ☐ I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk with the "person in charge" I will be facing a person of my race.
- ☐ If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.
- ☐ I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race.
- ☐ I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin.
- ☐ I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a "credit to my race."
- ☐ I can walk into a classroom and know I will not be the only member of my race.
- ☐ I can enroll in a class at college and be sure that the majority of my professors will be of my race.

# what is WHITE SUPREMACY?

by Elizabeth (Betita) Martínez

**White Supremacy is a historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent, for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege.**

## I. What does it mean to say White Supremacy is a system?

The most common mistake people make when they talk about racism is to think it is a collection of prejudices and individual acts of discrimination. They do not see that it is a system, a web of interlocking, reinforcing institutions: economic, military, legal, educational, religious, and cultural. As a system, racism affects every aspect of life in a country.

By not seeing that racism is systemic (part of a system), people often personalize or individualize racist acts. For example, they will reduce racist police behavior to "a few bad apples" who need to be removed, rather than seeing it exists in police departments all over the country and is basic to the society. This mistake has real consequences: refusing to see police brutality as part of a system, and that the system needs to be changed, means that the brutality will continue. The need to recognize racism as being systemic is one reason the term White Supremacy has been more useful than the term racism. They refer to the same problem but:

- A. The purpose of racism is much clearer when we call it "white supremacy." Some people think of racism as just a matter of prejudice. "Supremacy" defines a power relationship.
- B. Race is an unscientific term. Although racism is a social reality, it is based on a term which has no biological or other scientific reality.
- C. The term racism often leads to dead-end debates about whether a particular remark or action by an individual white person was really racist or not. We will achieve a clearer understanding of racism if we analyze how a certain action relates to the system of White Supremacy.
- D. The term White Supremacy gives white people a clear choice of supporting or opposing a system, rather than getting bogged down in claims to be anti-racist (or not) in their personal behavior.

## II. What does it mean to say White Supremacy is historically based?

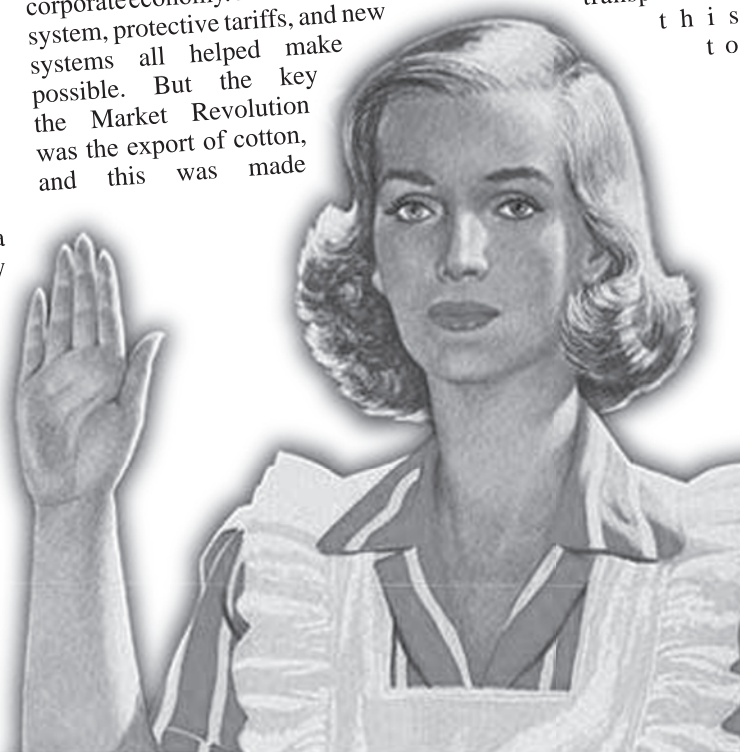
Every nation has a creation myth, or origin myth, which is the story people are taught of how the nation came into being. Ours says the United States began with Columbus's so-called "discovery" of America, continued with settlement by brave Pilgrims, won its independence from England with the American Revolution, and then expanded westward until it became the enormous, rich country

you see today. That is the origin myth. It omits three key facts about the birth and growth of the United States as a nation. Those facts demonstrate that White Supremacy is fundamental to the existence of this country.

A. The United States is a nation state created by military conquest in several stages. The first stage was the European seizure of the lands inhabited by indigenous peoples, which they called Turtle Island. Before the European invasion, there were between nine and eighteen million indigenous people in North America. By the end of the Indian Wars, there were about 250,000 in what is now called the United States, and about 123,000 in what is now Canada (source of these population figures from the book "The State of Native America" ed. by M. Annette Jaimes, South End Press, 1992). That process must be called genocide, and it created the land base of this country. The elimination of indigenous peoples and seizure of their land was the first condition for its existence.

B. The United States could not have developed economically as a nation without enslaved African labor. When agriculture and industry began to grow in the colonial period, a tremendous labor shortage existed. Not enough white workers came from Europe and the European invaders could not put indigenous peoples to work in sufficient numbers. It was enslaved Africans who provided the labor force that made the growth of the United States possible.

That growth peaked from about 1800 to 1860, the period called the Market Revolution. During this period, the United States changed from being an agricultural/commercial economy to an industrial corporate economy. The development of banks, expansion of the credit system, protective tariffs, and new transportation systems all helped make possible. But the key the Market Revolution was the export of cotton, and this was made





possible by slave labor.

C. The third major piece in the true story of the formation of the United States as a nation was the take-over of half of Mexico by war -- today's Southwest. This enabled the U.S. to expand to the Pacific, and thus open up huge trade with Asia -- markets for export, goods to import and sell in the U.S. It also opened to the U.S. vast mineral wealth in Arizona, agricultural wealth in California, and vast new sources of cheap labor to build railroads and develop the economy.

The United States had already taken over the part of Mexico we call Texas in 1836, then made it a state in 1845. The following year, it invaded Mexico and seized its territory under the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. A few years later, in 1853, the U.S. acquired a final chunk of Arizona from Mexico by threatening to renew the war. This completed the territorial boundaries of what is now the United States.

Those were the three foundation stones of the United States as a nation. One more key step was taken in 1898, with the takeover of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam and Cuba by means of the Spanish-American War. Since then, all but Cuba have remained U.S. colonies or neo-colonies, providing new sources of wealth and military power for the United States. The 1898 take-over completed the phase of direct conquest and colonization, which had begun with the murderous theft of Native American lands five centuries before.

Many people in the United States hate to recognize these truths. They prefer the established origin myth. They could be called the Premise Keepers.

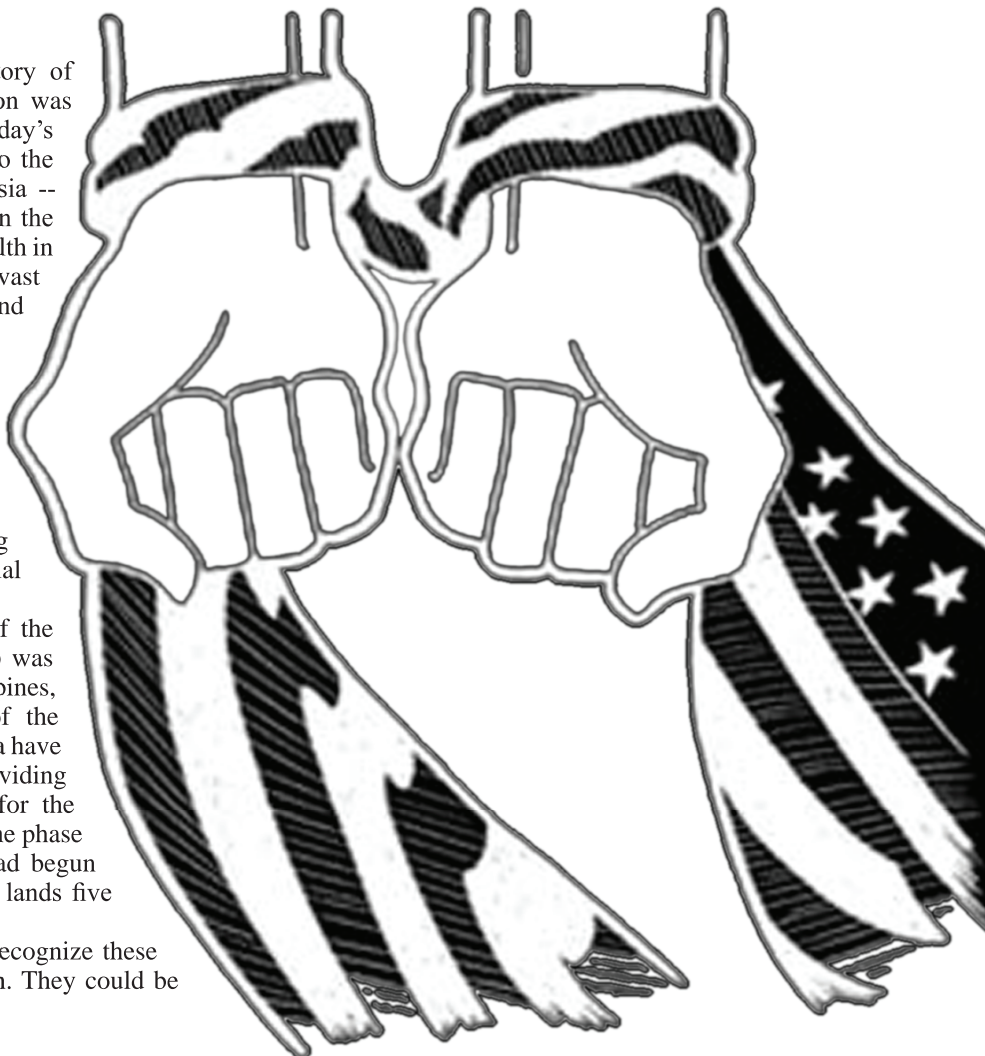
### III. What does it mean to say that White Supremacy is a system of exploitation?

*The roots of U.S. racism or White Supremacy lie in establishing economic exploitation by the theft of resources and human labor, then justifying that exploitation by institutionalizing the inferiority of its victims. The first application of White Supremacy or racism by the EuroAmericans who control U.S. society was against indigenous peoples. Then came Blacks, originally as slaves and later as exploited waged labor. They were followed by Mexicans, who lost their means of survival when they lost their land holdings, and also became wage-slaves. Mexican labor built the Southwest, along with Chinese, Filipino, Japanese and other workers.*

*In short, White Supremacy and economic power were born together. The United States is the first nation in the world to be born racist (South Africa came later) and also the first to be born capitalist. That is not a coincidence. In this country, as history shows, capitalism and racism go hand in hand.*

### IV. Origins of Whiteness and White Supremacy as Concepts

The first European settlers called themselves English, Irish, German, French, Dutch, etc. -- not white. Over half of those who came in the early colonial period were servants. By 1760, the population reached about two million, of whom 400,000 were enslaved Africans. An elite of planters developed in the southern colonies. In Virginia, for example, 50 rich white families held the reins of power but were vastly outnumbered by non-whites. In the Carolinas, 25,000 whites faced 40,000 Black slaves and 60,000 indigenous peoples in the area. Class lines hardened as the distinction between rich and poor



became sharper. The problem of control loomed large and fear of revolt from below grew.

There had been slave revolts from the beginning but elite whites feared even more that discontented whites--servants, tenant farmers, the urban poor, the property-less, soldiers and sailors--would join Black slaves to overthrow the existing order. As early as 1663, indentured white servants and Black slaves in Virginia had formed a conspiracy to rebel and gain their freedom. In 1676, came Bacon's Rebellion by white frontiersmen and servants alongside Black slaves. The rebellion shook up Virginia's planter elite. Many other rebellions followed, from South Carolina to New York. The main fear of elite whites everywhere was a class fear.

Their solution: divide and control. Certain privileges were given to white indentured servants. They were allowed to join militias, carry guns, acquire land, and have other legal rights not allowed to slaves. With these privileges they were legally declared white on the basis of skin color and continental origin. That made them "superior" to Blacks (and Indians). Thus whiteness was born as a racist concept to prevent lower-class whites from joining people of color, especially Blacks, against their class enemies. The concept of whiteness became a source of unity and strength for the vastly outnumbered Euroamericans--as in South Africa, another settler nation. Today, unity across color lines remains the biggest threat in the eyes of a white ruling class.

White folks who aren't actively anti-racist are complicit in this system of White Supremacy. To learn more, turn to page 47 and check out our "Tools for White Guys who are Working for Social Change"

We have seen that White Supremacy is a historically based system fundamental to the existence of the United States. Sometimes this history can seem pretty distant and abstract, but further reflection shows us exactly how close to home it is. Did you know, for example, that:

# The Hordean Ohlone People Once Lived Where This University Now Stands

## An Incomplete Ohlone History

More than 10,000 Native Americans once lived in the coastal region stretching from Point Sur to the Monterey Bay. In fact, before the advance of Spanish colonists, Central California had the most populated community of indigenous peoples anywhere north of Mexico. The Spaniards who came in search of 'savages' to 'civilize,' as well as labor and resources to exploit, arrived (literally) millennia after the original inhabitants of the area: the Costanoan, or, Ohlone People. Ohlone is a Miwok Indian word meaning "western people," and both Ohlone and Costanoan refer to a grouping of smaller tribes in Central California who shared a similar language. Among the 10,000 Ohlone, there were about forty different groups, all with their own distinct culture. The Hordean Ohlone of what is known contemporarily as Santa Cruz, or "Holy Cross," is but one. These groups inhabited different territory, had varying social practices and customs, as well as largely unique languages. Still, it is possible to speak generally about the Ohlones because the groups held much in common.

The Ohlone attitude toward their environment was characterized by respect. Their direct and unmediated relationship with their bioregion (and more generally, the earth) was perhaps the foremost aspect of Ohlone life that fostered respect for the natural world. While they too altered the landscape somewhat, their damaging impact on other wildlife was minimal...certainly incomparable to the wreckage caused by industrial capitalism. Whether fishing for salmon and sturgeon, gathering seeds or brome grass, or collecting clams and oysters, basic daily sustenance of the Ohlone was achieved through the direct use of their bodies interacting with the environment. Every living and non-living thing was considered sacred. The earth was not seen as a simple mass of objects or resources to be exploited, but rather as a vast and intricate network which demanded respect and awe. This symbiotic interaction between human and other animal populations with plant life and each other, in tandem with the intimacy of the social relationships in the groups, begin to explain the harmony said to have been found in much of Ohlone life before invasion.

To further understand the deep bonds within Ohlone society, it is important to recognize that each tribe constituted between roughly two or three hundred people. There was virtually no leaving such a situation unless one became outcast completely. Such ostracization did occur, but it was very rare and reserved only for the greedy or aggressive. Margolin, author of *The Ohlone Way*, writes of greed: "Acquisition was not an Ohlone's idea of wealth or security." After a hunt, for example, the hunter would not prepare meat for himself, but would rather distribute the bounty to family and friends first. For this, the hunter would receive admiration and respect, as well as a kind of insurance that they would be treated with similar trust and benevolence. This is what would be recognized today as a "gift economy," a method for the distribution of goods without bureaucracy, through a network of friends and family. This world of collective security and mutual aid was unheard of to Europeans who felt that a strong (i.e. oppressive) government was the cornerstone of society.

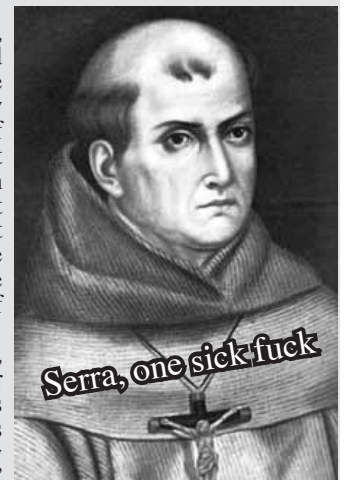
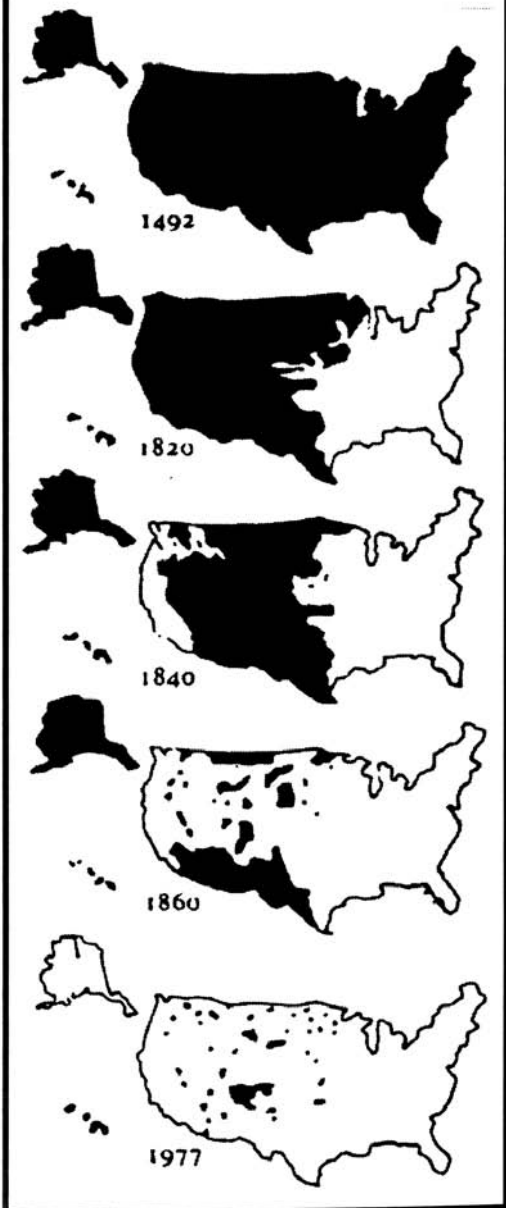
## The Mission Period (1697 - 1834)

Upon the arrival of the somber gray-robed missionaries, the first response of the Ohlones can best be described as fright and awe. The stability that existed among the Ohlone for centuries was suddenly shocked into a new reality. A member of the Portola expedition wrote of the Ohlone reaction to the Franciscan Monks: "Without knowing what they did, some ran for their weapons, then shouted and yelled, and the women burst into tears." But this was to be only a minor hysteria compared to what was to befall the Ohlone in coming years. When the Missionaries appeared to intend no harm, the Ohlone treated the new-comers quite warmly," bearing gifts of fish seed cakes, roots, and deer or antelope meat.

At first some people came voluntarily to the missions, entranced by the novelty of the missionaries' dress, their magic and metallurgy, their seeming benevolence. Others were captured through force. The mission project was created with the stipulation that the Natives would only be held captive and forced into cultural "assimilation" camps for a period of ten years, after which they would be "weaned away from their life of nakedness, lewdness and idolatry." Ten years of captivity and torture were just the beginning for the Ohlone. Their language was criminalized, they were forced to pray like white people, dress like white people, eat like white people, to raise cattle, abandon traditional native crafts, farm etc.

In the Missions, Ohlones were baptized without knowledge of the implications of the ritual. The Spanish believed they had title over the Ohlones, could hold them without consent, and deprive them of any vestige of freedom or their previous culture. By torture

## Indigenous Land Within United States, 1492-1977





and imprisonment, the Spanish postulated that these heathens would be transformed from “bestias” (beasts) to “gente de razon” (people of reason). If they attempted escape, soldiers were deployed to recapture them. Routine escapees were “whipped, bastinadoed, and shackled, not only to punish them but to provide an example to the others.”

### Resistance Against the Mission

Some Ohlones acknowledged that the only way they could preserve their way of life was through the employment of political violence, also more favorably known as self-defense. Certainly (much like today) law had little to offer the Ohlone, other than to reinforce their servility to the theocracy of the Mission system. As such, along with the consistent escapes from the Missions, other more insurrectionary actions were taken by the Ohlones. As an Ohlone author put it on IndianCanyon.org:

*“They resisted in many ways. The restrictions that the Padres seemed to think were desirable for their neophytes, willing or otherwise. Santa Cruz Mission was attacked by some indigenous resistance fighters who were pursuing their rights to life and liberty.”*

Phil Laverty wrote of the attack on Mission Santa Cruz:

*“On the night of December 14, 1793, Mission Santa Cruz was attacked and partially burned by members of the Quiroste tribe, an Ohlonean group [just twenty miles north of modern-day Santa Cruz]. Based on all available information, this occurrence appears to be the first and perhaps the only direct attack on a mission building in Central California during the Spanish era. Nearly two years of armed resistance on the part of members of the Quiroste [Ohlone] tribe preceded the attack, which was probably the first extended resistance against the Spanish in the entire San Francisco Bay Area.”*

Ohlone resistance was on too small a scale however, to make the critical difference. The only significant threat in the area, the Quiroste, were defeated by sheer force in numbers and a superior military apparatus. Another large blow to the health and morale of the Ohlone, were diseases such as influenza, smallpox, syphilis, measles and mumps. These often were intentionally spread by Europeans, and were much more devastating to the Ohlone due to the lack of immunity to such diseases. Death rates at the missions soared, while birth rates plummeted. This was partially a result of the isolation of women and men into separate facilities (prisons) which were intended to enforce strict chastity regulations. In just some sixty years, the missionary project left the Ohlone peoples almost completely decimated. Native arts like basket making were all but entirely forgotten. Native dialects became mixed and muddled, or were deserted entirely, forcibly replaced with the dominant language of the Spaniards. The gift and barter economy that existed for centuries at least, along with the intricate network of tribal relations and collective responsibilities shared by the Ohlones, had virtually disappeared.

### The Mexican Era and Anglo Advance

After California was ceded to Mexico from Spain in the 1820s, the struggling Ohlones were jostled into a new but equally disastrous position. The Missions were turned over to the Mexican state in 1834, and the Ohlone who had survived were now legally free, but without much of the knowledge or resources necessary to make it in the modern world (if this was something that was desired at all). Without a means to sustain themselves, some Indigenous Californians became servants to the Spanish, while others formed wandering bands

who subsisted by hunting cattle, horses and sheep. This was their only option, as the elk and antelope had almost entirely disappeared. These bands of “outlaws” were themselves hunted and killed. At Mission Dolores in 1850, an old man speaks about his people:

*“I am very sad; my people were once around me like the sands of the shore- many, many. They have gone to the mountains- I do not complain: the antelope falls with the arrow. I had a son- I loved him. When the pale-faces came he went away; I know not where he is. I am a Christian Indian; I am all that is left of my people. I am alone.”*

With California’s annexation to the U.S. in 1846, and the coming of Anglo settlers, extermination became more overt and publicly acceptable. Indian killing was a favorite pastime, and one subsidized by the U.S. Government. The 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians led to looser protections for Native children already heavily exploited as young slaves and servants. This act also ensured that Indigenous People’s were withheld status as legal persons, although the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo already ostensibly secured Indigenous Californian’s citizenship. With the Land Claims Act of 1851, most remaining Indigenous land was expropriated for the coming white settlers. Racism and hatred of California Indians led to the impossibility of their receiving fair trial, as virtually any white man would lie for another. The new inhabitants of California made their desire clear in this article from the Yreka Herald in 1853:

*“We hope that the Government will render such aid as will enable the citizens of the north to carry on a war of extermination until the last redskin of these tribes has been killed. Extermination is no longer a question of time - the time has arrived, the work has commenced, and let the first man that says treaty or peace be regarded as a traitor.”*  
(Yreka Herald, 1853)

Between 1850 and 1870, indigenous Californians experienced perhaps the most bloody and murderous times in their history, with squatters and supposed ‘pioneers’ tracking and assaulting any Native who could be found. In California, the population of 200,000 - 300,000 California Natives in 1848, was reduced to 15,238 by 1890. As for the Ohlone, all 40 tribes and almost all 10,000 people are gone. The last full-blooded Ohlone died recently.

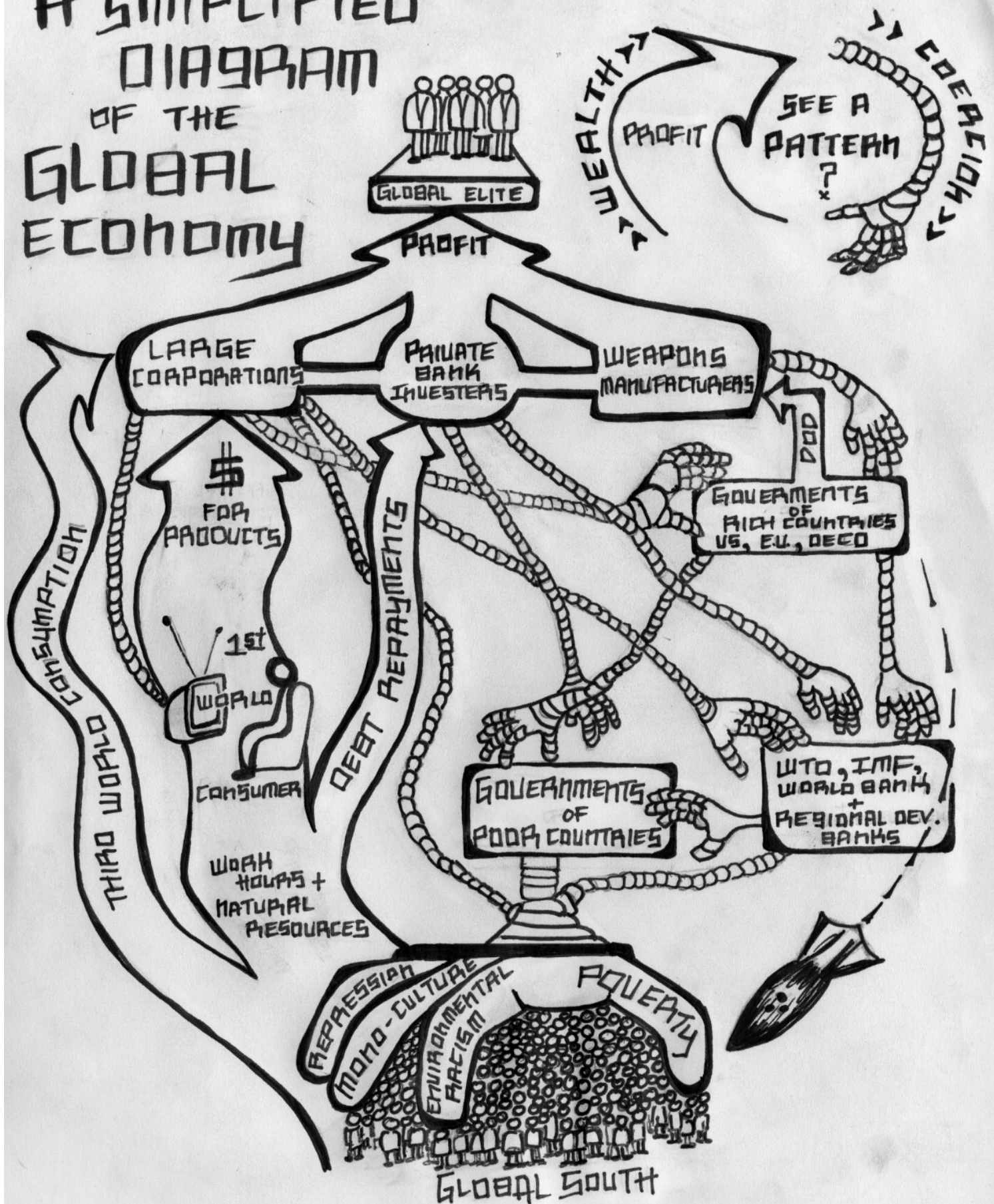
### The Modern Era

Yet, despite the centuries of torment and subjugation, the Ohlone are not dead. One example of a current Ohlone project is the Indian Canyon Ranch, which serves as an Indigenous cultural center and home for Native Americans of many tribal origins. Also hopeful is Quirina Luna-Costillas, who has studied the Mutsun Ohlone language extensively, and started a foundation to research and teach it to others. Some have revived the art of traditional basket making, storytelling and are writing about various aspects of Ohlone culture and history. These examples serve as a reminder of a living culture that has persevered and as a wake-up call to those of us who consider the Ohlones to be deceased. As we are clearly not the rightful inhabitants of this land (unless right is defined by superior might and propensity for brutality) it would do us well to shed our sense of entitlement to this land where the Hordean Ohlone once lived.





# A SIMPLIFIED DIAGRAM OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY





# **GUIDE TO THE GLOBAL ECONOMY:**

*Navigating Neo-liberal Economics and  
Neo-conservative Politics ("NEOCONSERVIBERALISM")*

**WITH YOUR HOSTS MAIA AND ERIC**

***"THE MILITARY AND THE MONETARY, THE MONETARY AND THE MILITARY,  
GET TOGETHER WHENEVER IT'S NECESSARY..."***

**-- Gil Scott-Heron**

Looking back, it seems like in 1999-2001 protesting corporate globalization was the big thing. Then by late 2001-2003, protesting war was all the rage. Since then we've protested multiple wars and occupations, Republicans, regional trade pacts, localized labor and environmental abuses, you name it.

Are resisters just fickle? Do we just like complaining about something, anything? What do corporate globalization and war have to do with each other? Are they two contradictory paradigms, or two sides of the same phenomenon? I'd say the latter, and its name is imperialism. And if imperialism is the bread-- that is, the architectural base of the sandwich-- then capitalism and militarism go together like PB&J. One strategy's "soft" and the other's "hard"; they're often identified with the political rhetoric of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism respectively. But at bottom they're complementary strategies. Only the emphasis changes, along with the dominant ideologies used to legitimate them.



**For more Information on  
the Global Economy:**

*Runaway World*  
-- Anthony Giddens

*Globalization/Anti-  
Globalization*  
-- David Held and Anthony  
McGrew

*No Nonsense Guide to  
Globalization*  
-- Wayne Ellwood

[www.corpwatch.org](http://www.corpwatch.org)

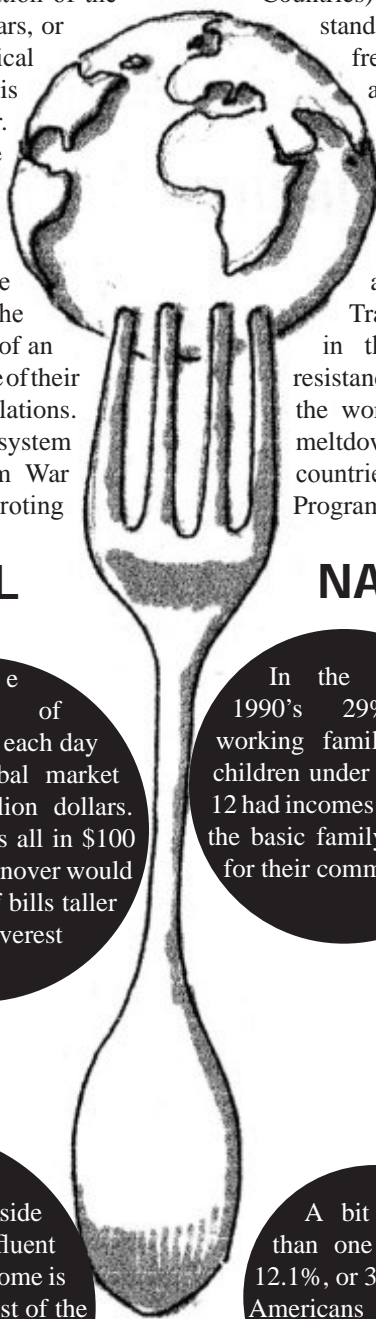
[www.globalexchange.org](http://www.globalexchange.org)

William Hartung in *The Nation*

# PART ONE: WHY NEOLIBERAL ECONOMICS

We can't pretend to give a comprehensive explanation of the changes in the global economy over the past 50 years, or what that has to do with the distribution of geopolitical clout. What we can do, in a ridiculously shallow way is to simply try and convey the fact that economics matter. In 1944, Bretton Woods created the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, precursor to the World Trade Organization, or the WTO) in order to reconstruct the "free world" in ways most conducive to capitalist expansion. This was done according to the Keynesian principles--in other words, the principal of an active state guiding the national economy and the value of their currency to provide for predicatability in trading relations. In the late 1960s to early 1970s the growth of this system hit some roadblocks in the form of the Vietnam War and the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting

Countries) oil crisis which forced the US to remove the gold standard. This placed the global economy in a sort of free fall that allowed the emergence of what's known as the neo-liberal paradigm. This is based upon the idea of downplaying the activity of the state and ostensibly letting the global economy be governed by the "invisible laws" of the market itself. In the mid-1990s, the emergence of the WTO (amping up the scope of the GATT) and the activation of NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) applied these neoliberal principles in their most extreme form. Almost immediately, resistance became impossible to ignore in many parts of the world. Equally impossible to ignore were economic meltdowns in many African and Latin American countries subject to IMF, imposed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), most dramatically in Argentina in 2001.



## GLOBAL

In 1960, the world's richest fifth had 30 times more income than the poorest fifth. By 1997, this disparity more than doubled and stands at 74:1.

In less developed countries (LDCs), 30,000 children die every day from preventable diseases. To provide health care to all of the LDCs children that it would cost \$13 billion a year. While this is quite a sum of money, it is \$4 billion less than what is spent on pet food each year in Western Europe and Japan.

The amount of money traded each day within the global market is over one trillion dollars. If this money was all in \$100 bills, the daily turnover would equal a stack of bills taller than Mt. Everest

There are 900 million people that reside within the world's affluent areas. Their average income is \$27,450 per year. The rest of the 5.1 billion people who make the up the remaining population bring home on average of only \$3,890 a year.

The world's 900 million affluent people are responsible for: 86% of the world's consumption expenditures, 79% of the world's income, 47% of carbon emissions, 58% of the world's total energy consumption, and 74% of the total telephone lines.

The world's poorest 1.2 billion people are only responsible for 1.3% of the world's total consumption expenditures, 4% of the world's energy consumption, 1.5% of total telephone lines, and 5% of the world's fish and meat consumption.

## NATIONAL

In the late 1990's 29% of working families with children under the age of 12 had incomes lower than the basic family budgets for their communities.

At \$5.15 an hour, the US federal minimum wage is 30% less than it was in 1968, after adjustments are made for inflation. This means that with the wages paid today, workers are able to buy 30% less goods than they were able to in 1968. (SO MUCH FOR PROGRESS)

In the US, income in 2000 was only slightly less concentrated among the top 1% of households than during the run-up to the Great Depression, which was the worst period of income concentration in the last century.

In 2000, the top 1% held 21.7% of the nation's income.

A bit more than one in ten--12.1%, or 34.6 million Americans in the year of 2002 lived below the poverty line.

In the years of 1989-2000 the average income of a CEO increased by 79% with other forms of compensation increasing by a ridiculous 342%. In 1965, CEOs were paid roughly 26 times more than a typical worker. In 2003, CEOs are paid 185 times more than the average worker.

In 1929, the top 1% held 22.5% of the nation's income.



# PART TWO: WHY NEOCONSERVATIVE POLITICS MATTER

*"War is the health of the state."*

-- Randolph Bourne



In the early 21st century, another ideology came (back) to prominence.

With SAPs imploding, countries in the global south are defaulting on debts and undergoing the slow attrition of economics. Global consensus around the neoliberal economic program has started slipping. (At the Cancun ministerial in 2003 the G-20 group of major global south nations started using the WTO to talk back to the US and EU, demanding that their concerns be incorporated into any negotiations.)

So, in order for the North (dominated by the US) to maintain access to and control of certain key resources and markets, its had to do two things, often connected to each other. First, its fallen back on more specific bilateral or regional trade agreements, like CAFTA (the Central American Free Trade Agreement). Second, its amped up the use of military force. And in order to get the necessary popular support and legitimacy this requires justification by imperial mission, defense of civilization, a smackdown of good and evil.

Once the interests of corporate capital are overtly identified with the glory of the Nation, then we, as the Citizens of the Nation, are "invited" to link our loyalties and identities with it. After all "our way of life," the one that needs defending from

"evil-doers," is consumer capitalism. We're told it's our patriotic duty to consume, thereby doing

our part to increase corporate profits while defying terrorism with our indomitable spirits.

And war is one of the most potent ways to generate this kind of loyalty. Patriotism is a passionate commitment to protect the state and its economic interests, which are portrayed as being under threat. Not to mention that war is arguably a much more straightforward way to claim geopolitical dominance than through stealth economics-- though in the long term perhaps more precarious because it makes people madder, faster.

Thus, after a few years of musing over whether the nation-state was obsolete, and irrelevant to the expansion of transnational capital, the national flag has recharged its potency as a unifying symbol-- thanks to the presence of convenient external scapegoats. Imperialism is a transnationalist system carried out in the name of the nation.

## OPERATION IRAQI FREE TRADE

George Bush launched the invasion of Iraq in March of 2003. Since 2003, the US has signed Trade and Investment Framework Agreements (TIFAs) with Bahrain, Yemen, UAE, Oman, Kuwait...and of course Iraq. Bush aims for a US-Middle East Free Trade Area to be created by 2013. In the words of Robert Zoellick, a former US Trade Representative who recently resigned as Deputy Secretary of State, "Earlier enemies learned that America

is the arsenal of democracy. Today's enemies will learn that America is the economic engine for freedom, opportunity and development. To that end, U.S. leadership in promoting the international economic and trading system is vital. Trade is about more than economic efficiency. It promotes the values at the heart of this protracted struggle."

And, "The President's vision is clear. Trade liberalization and increased economic integration will generate growth, create opportunity and promote security throughout the Middle East."





# WHOM DOES THE EMPIRE SERVE?

Oil companies, defense contractors, corporations specializing in construction and support for oil production or military logistics, and the wealthy politicians they own.

For Example:

## Halliburton...

...provides oil services and logistics. Subsidiary Kellogg Brown & Root provides military support services. Received \$8 billion in 2003 alone in contracts for Iraq reconstruction. KBR, which received a no-bid five year contract to put out oil fires even before the invasion began. Now currently under criminal investigation for overcharging the government by \$67 million for shipping in gasoline to Iraq from Kuwait and for receiving \$11 million in kickbacks from subcontractors. Received \$16 to build prison in Guantanamo Bay. Still pulling in profits from 1990s Balkan war contracts. VP Dick Cheney was Halliburton President and CEO until taking office and still holds stock options worth over \$10 million dollars.



## Chevron-Texaco...

...along with ExxonMobil, was part of Caspian oil consortium exploring untapped reserves in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan.

Has since bought Unocal. Secretary of State [formerly National Security Adviser] Condoleezza Rice was previously on the board of directors for Chevron, serving as special consultant on Central Asia.

## Boeing...

...number two in "Big Three". Makes 747s, "smart" bombs, fighter plans, missile components and Apache helicopters. Received \$16.6 billion military contracts in fiscal 2002, \$17.1 billion in 2004. Largest US exporter. Like the other big defense contractors, has adapted marketing strategies and application of products for use in domestic security. Under investigation for numerous cases of corruption and influence-peddling.



## General Electric...

...world's largest company by market share. Owns Boeing. Makes jet engines for both Lockheed Martin and Boeing and received \$2.8 billion in military contracts in 2002. Also builds nuclear reactors internationally. Owns NBC, Telemundo, and msnbc.com (jointly with Microsoft) among many other media outlets. Currently battling to prove that the Superfund law requiring industrial toxic waste producers to clean up their messes is unconstitutional.



## Bechtel...

...has built oil pipelines in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Canada, Alaska, Colombia, Libya. Tried to privatize the water supply in Cochabamba, Bolivia in 2003 but backed off due to massive public protest. Won initial closed-bid contract to rebuild Iraq's oil infrastructure for \$680 million. Chairman/CEO Riley Bechtel was appointed in February 2004 to President Bush's advisory committee on international trade. Other former Bechtel executives include Reagan's Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Last year, the UC partnered with Bechtel to manage the Los Alamos and Livermore nuclear labs. (For more info see page 26)

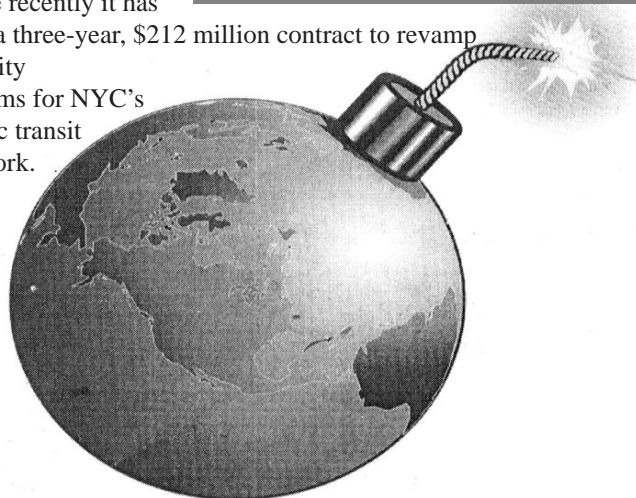


## Unocal...

...since the mid 1990s, worked on building natural gas pipeline from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan and Pakistan. Former Unocal executive Zalmay Khalilzad was appointed special envoy to Afghanistan after the 2001 invasion, and currently serves as ambassador to Iraq.

## Lockheed Martin...

...number one in the defense industry "Big Three". Makes fighter planes, spy planes, missiles and nuclear weapons. Received \$17 billion in military contracts in fiscal 2002 and \$20.7 billion in 2004. Former Lockheed VP Bruce Jackson chaired the Coalition for the Liberation of Iraq which promoted the Bush war plan. More recently it has won a three-year, \$212 million contract to revamp security systems for NYC's public transit network.





# MAY 1ST, 2006:

## General Strike For Immigrants Rights

The country was rocked, both financially and politically, on May 1st as millions marched throughout the US protesting the criminalization of immigrants. Anti-immigrant and other racist and sexist policies have been used by the capitalist ruling class for centuries to divide and control laborers. These policies are used to create divisions between working people, while creating a justification for paying lower wages to all workers. You've heard the schtick: business owners claim that immigrants get paid the bare minimum because they are "willing to work for less," or because there are "too many" of them, and that other working people's wages are lowered because they have to compete with immigrants. So instead of targeting the ruling class, workers' anger is redirected towards different groups of workers. The "divide and conquer" strategy is an old and effective one. But just as old is the concept of solidarity. When workers join together, across these divisions, they have the power to do amazing things. These are stories we don't learn in standard history classes. When laborers unite, they can shut down factories and towns, forcing employers to improve their wages and working conditions. These stories aren't taught in standard history classes, of how laborers united to shut down factories and towns, forcing employers to improve their wages and working conditions, of how when normal methods of control failed, employers and the government used violence to control workers.

The U.S. business community (with the support of the government) manipulates the idea of 'citizenship' and mobilizes racism to exploit low wage workers. Employers are able to pay immigrants low wages because immigrants, especially those who are undocumented, don't have the same legal protections that other workers do. By strengthening anti-immigrant legislation, the government makes it possible for employers to pay workers less and to force them to work in worse conditions. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, workers won certain legal protections by fighting in solidarity with each other. Today, the attack on immigrants, and thus an attack on all working people, continues due to the complacency of the majority. When working people all over the US joined together to support immigrant's rights the power holders in this country started paying attention.

In 2006, national legislation was proposed that would have intensified the exploitation of immigrant workers by increasing state power over undocumented immigrants. The House of Representatives passed HR4437 which would have made being an undocumented immigrant, or assisting one, a felony. This means that doctors, teachers, priests, and domestic abuse centers could not help undocumented immigrants without taking great risks. HR 4437 would have given police officers control over anyone who they suspect of being an undocumented immigrant. Threatening workers with restrictive laws like HR4437 increases business owners' control over workers allowing them to decrease wages or working conditions. After a wave of pro-immigrant actions leading up to May 1, national lawmakers allowed the anti-immigrant legislation to die.



In Santa Cruz, a coalition of students set up a mock border at the base of campus. Students, workers, and community members gathered, spilling out into the Bay/High intersection. Students held a rally in the middle of the intersection, speaking about the criminalization of immigrants and connecting it to other campus movements. The rally, 2,000 strong, then took to High Street and marched down to the clock tower to meet up with a separate march that originated in the Beach Flats. Over 5,000 protestors gathered in San Lorenzo Park for a follow up rally.

# A History of May Day

*Where does May Day come from? Why do most working classes in most countries celebrate May Day but not the US? These are questions that should be asked to gain an understanding of the full significance of the contemporary struggle of immigrants as well as its historical meaning.*

The effects of the 1873 depression led many working-class people to live in impoverished conditions. Everything changed in 1877 when a strike of railroad workers began in Pennsylvania and spread like wildfire throughout the country. Both Chicago and St. Louis had general strikes. The workers in the latter, which was the industrial center of the country, took over the political life of the city. The National Guard moved in only to be won over by strikers, so the federal government brought in troops who were hardened by fighting Native Americans; they slaughtered thousands of workers to end the strike.

The energy of the labor movement continued and by 1881, the Knights of Labor, the major national labor union, tried to pass legislation for a shorter workweek. Such efforts were in vain and the young American working class was too impatient for such politicians, which fostered a militant revolutionary syndicalism and anarchist political outlook. That year, a new trajectory of strikes that were going on the offensive took place. In 1881, there were 129,000 workers on strike. By 1883, there were 149,000, and by 1886, there were 499,489 workers on strike. A center point was created between the revolutionaries, who wanted to abolish the wage system, and the electoral wing, who wanted to pass progressive legislation, as the concept of the 8-hour day. The nation experienced the emergence of a new labor movement, and Chicago was its heart as it was the most organized.

At its convention in Chicago in 1884, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions resolved that "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labour from and after May 1, 1886." By May 1st, 1886, the strikes had spread an amazing rate. The New York Times reported that thousands of dollars was spent by the Commercial Club to prepare for a new bloodbath against the workers movement. In Chicago, on May 1st, 30,000 workers struck. The movement was flexing its muscle as 1,000 brewers reduced their workday from 16 to 10 hours and 1,000 bakers who had formally worked 14 to 18 hours a day reduced it to ten. In John Swinton's Paper, a reporter stated, "It is an eight-hour boom, and we are scoring victory after victory."

The McCormick Harvesting Machine factory was on strike, with violence taking place between the strikers and strike-breakers, so the police came in and shot into the crowd killing four and wounding many. A rally was organized at the Haymarket Square to protest the police abuses. 1,200 people showed up giving speeches about how the movement needed to continue. As the last speaker was winding down, rain fell, and most of the crowd had left leaving only 300 people in the square. Then, a stick of dynamite exploded killing six cops, prompting them to fire into crowd.

The very first red scare followed these events, much like the post 9-11 hysteria and penetrated all forms of mainstream media calling for an end of anarchy and to reestablish order. The newspapers put labor organizers and terrorists in the same camp, resulting in eight of Chicago's most active labor organizers—Parsons, Spies, Fielden, Schwab, Fischer, Lingg, Engle, and Neebe—being charged with "conspiracy to murder" in connection with the Haymarket bombing. A kangaroo court found all eight guilty, despite a lack of evidence connecting any of them to the bomb-thrower, and sentenced them to death (except for Neebe who was given fifteen years). Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolf Fischer and George Engel were hanged on November 11, 1887. Louis Lingg committed suicide in prison. The authorities turned over the bodies to friends for burial, and one of the largest funeral processions in Chicago history was held. It was estimated that between 150,000 to 500,000 persons lined the route taken by the funeral cortege of the Haymarket Martyrs.

In 1889, a conference of unions and radical labor organizers came



together to state that May 1st would be the official day of the working-class. The next year protests and marches took place throughout the world. In 1905, the same year as the formation of the IWW and the St. Petersburg Russian Revolution, Samuel Gompers, head of the business-friendly American Federation of Labor, changed the official day of the working class to the first week in September- Labor Day to divorce the liberal labor movement from its radical past. This began a tradition of conservative business unionism that attempted to get crumbs from the empire rather than organize the poor across racial, ethnic, and gender lines in a radical direct action framework. The immigrants rights movement that sprung up in 2006 contains echoes of a history of radical labor organizing in the US.



**"The time will come when  
our silence will be more  
powerful than the voices you  
strangle today."**

**-August Spies, his last words shouted  
to the crowd of spectators gathered to  
watch his hanging**



# Racist Anti-Immigrant Legislation (and resistance to it) is nothing new in the U.S.

## A brief timeline of the history of such legislation and sentiments:

**ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS (1798)** Anti-immigrant legislation targeted against European radicals, deemed a threat to property and stability. The Acts gave the President power to exclude or deport foreigners believed to be subversive and to prosecute anyone who criticized the government.

**NATURALIZATION ACT (1798)** Limited immigrants' electoral participation by extending the waiting period for citizenship from five to 14 years.

**PROTESTANT CRUSADE** The 1830s-40s saw a wave of Irish and Germans immigrants to the U.S. This coincided with economic change and insecurity, leading to the demonization of Catholic immigrants who were believed to import crime and disease, steal jobs, and to be morally depraved. Protestant backlash led to riots and killing of Irish and German immigrants around 1844.

In the 1850s the anti-immigrant/nativist **AMERICAN PARTY** won six governorships and controlled legislatures in nine states. They enacted laws to harass and penalize immigrants (including newly annexed Mexicans), including the first literacy tests for voting.

**CHINESE EXCLUSION (1882)** On the west coast Chinese immigrants were the victims of violence and legalized discrimination, in part because they were believed to be a threat to white workers. A new California state constitution in 1878-79, adopted provisions for banning Chinese from employment by corporations or state government, segregating them into Chinatowns, and keeping them from entering the state. Congress then passed the nation's first immigration restriction, the Chinese Exclusion Act, which barred any new immigration from China (and later included the rest of Asia).

1880's **BORDER PATROL** founded, primarily to prevent Chinese immigrants from coming to the U.S. via Mexico.

**AMERICANIZATION CAMPAIGN** In 1911, "Americanization" sought to change the culture, values and languages of immigrants. The U.S. Bureau of Americanization encouraged compulsory English classes for foreign-born workers. Most states banned schooling in other languages and some prohibited study of foreign languages in the elementary school.

**PALMER RAIDS (1920)** Labor strife following World War I, which was often led by immigrant activist, resulted in a backlash from the Federal Government. The Palmer Raids rounded up and deported "alien subversives" without trial.

**NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT (1924)** Act of Congress greatly reducing annual immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. As a result, Jews who were fleeing the Nazis were not allowed to enter the U.S. during WWII.

During the Depression of the 1930s, thousands of Mexicans legally present in the U.S. were deported, especially those who participated in massive agricultural strikes in California.

**RACERO PROGRAM (1942-1964s)** When the U.S. entered World War II, Mexican workers were again recruited through the "bracero" program to work in agriculture and the war industry. This program allowed Mexicans to work in the U.S. under a limited contract. Under the contracts, workers were exploited and prevented from leaving. Once the contract expired they were forced to return to Mexico. The program has been compared to a system of legalized slavery.

In 1980, Congress passed the Refugee Act, but still refused to allow thousands of refugees from Central America who were fleeing U.S.-funded wars into the country.

**PROP 187:** Worsening economic conditions in the 1990's led to a resurgence of nationwide anti-immigrant sentiments. California was the first state to pass a law (Proposition 187) that excluded all undocumented persons from accessing health and education from the state. (Parts of this law were later overturned by the Supreme Court.)

In 1996, Congress passed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act to prevent illegal immigration. It allowed asylum seekers without documents to be turned away at the border, and the deportation of non-citizens who had committed a crime since coming to the U.S. -even if they had already served their time.

**USA PATRIOT ACT** After Sept 11, 2002, Middle Eastern immigrants were increasingly suspected of being connected to terrorist activity. Among other things, the Act increased border patrols, allowed for the questioning and finger-printing of Muslim immigrants, and detentions.

In 2002, the Department of Homeland Security formed, combining several governmental offices, including INS. Refugees and immigrants are now being treated as potential terrorists.

2005 The Minute Men: Armed anti-immigrant civilian vigilantes, began patrolling the U.S. Mexico border in Arizona and California.

2006 Anti-Immigration bills debated in the House (HR4437) and Senate (SR2454).

Be a part of history.  
Connect with local  
groups organizing for  
immigrants rights.

Students Informing  
Now (SIN) is a coalition  
of students working  
on this issue. Contact  
them at [porlacaused-losestudiantes@yahoo.com](mailto:porlacaused-losestudiantes@yahoo.com) or check  
out thier website:  
[www.studentsinformingnow.4t.com](http://www.studentsinformingnow.4t.com).



# THE CORPORATE MEDIA SEEKS TO BLIND THE WORLD IN THEIR QUEST FOR WORLD DOMINATION

For a true democracy to work, people need easy access to independent and diverse sources of news and information. But the last two decades have given rise to an unprecedented corporate consolidation of mass media. By 2006, just six corporations emerged to dominate all media outlets including: television, radio, newspapers, magazines, music, publishing and film.

of anarchy and the swords of thugs.'

These corporate media outlets are legally responsible to their shareholders to maximize profits; lest anyone doubt that a conflict of interest might create media bias. Consider the following:

they are more likely to disclose obvious mistakes.

NBC is owned by General Electric, which also owns Westinghouse, which collaborated with Boeing and Northrop Grumman to produce the B-2 Bomber and the F-18 Fighter Jet, two planes that have been involved extensively in U.S. military campaigns including the Kosovo War in 1999, Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and Operation Iraqi Freedom in the ongoing Iraq War.

Corporate ties from the media to the military-industrial complex are commonplace now, forcing us into an era where information can no longer be trusted. As these corporations consolidate their holdings, fewer and fewer individuals are involved in how the public receives their information about the world around them. This amounts to a populace that is under- or misinformed.\*\*

\* "General Electric has designed, manufactured and supplied parts and maintenance for nearly every major weapons system used by the U.S. during the Gulf War- including the Patriot and Tomahawk Cruise missiles (Still being used by the U.S. as 'first strike' weapons) and several planes and spy satellite systems..." (From [www.fair.org](http://www.fair.org) "The Military-Industrial-Media Complex")

\*\* So when the correspondents from NBC and other major news organizations would "praise the performance of U.S. weapons, they were extolling equipment made by GE, the corporation that pays their salaries." (From Unreliable Sources by Norman Solomon and Martin A. Lee)

The six mass media conglomerates are:

For more information on corporate domination of the media, check out: [www.fair.com](http://www.fair.com)  
Also, a comprehensive guide to the multi-media holdings of these corporations see:

[www.thenation.com/doc/20060703/mediachart](http://www.thenation.com/doc/20060703/mediachart)

**General Electric**

**Kills 1 Bomb**  
**Attacks Persia**  
**FORMER AOL Time Warner**

The **WALT DISNEY Company**

**CBS CORPORATION**

**VIACOM**

**News Corporation**

battled bouts of Vietnam, is being treated for post-traumatic stress disorder. Mr. Cleland, a Democrat who represented Georgia, believed in continuing violence in Iraq. He said he felt depressed, had developed a sense of hyper-vigilance about his security and had difficulty sleeping. WSB-TV in Atlanta reported. Mr. Cleland is receiving treatment at Walter Reed Medical Center in Washington, an aide said. Mr. Cleland was unseated in 2002 by Saxby Chambliss, a Republican. (AP)



## Free Radio Santa Cruz

[www.freakradio.org](http://www.freakradio.org)

101.1 FM

Free Radio Santa Cruz 101.1 fm is your local, unlicensed, micro-power radio station. Some call us pirates, but we see what we do as reclaiming what belongs to all of us collectively, the airwaves. Radio can be an easy, cheap and fun way to communicate with each other on a grassroots level. Unfortunately, powerful interests have increasingly consolidated their control of the airwaves for their own profit, at the expense of the people and the free flow of information. Increasing corporate control of the media was one of the main reasons that Free Radio Santa Cruz was formed in March of 1995 by a group of local folks who were working with Food Not Bombs. They were dissatisfied with the way that the Santa Cruz Sentinel and other local media were reporting stories about events and protests, often telling the story almost solely from the point of view of the police department. So they got together to see what they could do to address this problem, and the idea of a radio station came up. They had heard about Stephen Dunifer at Free Radio Berkeley and were inspired by his work. So, they decided to pool their meager resources and buy a transmitter from Stephen, who makes and sells them very cheaply to community groups. And Free Radio Santa Cruz was born.

Over the years, the station has operated out of a kitchen, a bike cart, a big tricycle, the basement of a medical marijuana co-op, a backyard shed, etc. We have had several frequencies, 89.3, 96.3, and now 101.1 fm. After ten years on the air, in September of 2004, we were raided by the FCC and dozens of heavily armed US Marshals. Following the raid and the seizure of all of our equipment, we immediately began streaming again on the web, and in less than three weeks we were back on the FM dial at 101.1 again. The huge and very positive community response we received during and after the raid was highly encouraging to us and enormously helpful in getting back to broadcasting. This community support was instrumental partly because we are a completely noncommercial radio station and have absolutely no ads or underwriting. We are supported by our programmers and donations from the community.

Some folks ask us why we don't just get a license. Well, taking to the airwaves without a license is not only a statement against increasing corporate control of communication, it is a necessity. Licenses are prohibitively expensive to obtain, even where they can be applied for. Additionally, for some in the Free Radio collective, a broadcasting license is considered undesirable since that requires involvement with and regulation by the state. (Some of us don't think that we should have to have a license just to talk to one another.) Furthermore, there is little or no licensing for low watt stations like ours in most urban areas. Basically, even if we wanted a license and could afford one, we would not be able to obtain one under existing laws. Laws whose creation and passage were heavily influenced by lobbying from NPR and big corporate broadcasters who do not want any competition.

Free Radio Santa Cruz invites you to join with us in continuing to create independent, truly non-commercial, community media. Tune your radio dial to 101.1 fm, go to our website [freakradio.org](http://freakradio.org) where you can listen to our live stream, see our full schedule, contact us, and even apply for your own show. Programs include excellent, independently produced news from a local, national and international perspective, lots of great music and local talk shows, many of which are unavailable anywhere else on your dial. Join us in standing up for community control of the airwaves. As Jello Biafra says, "if you don't like the media, become the media."



Since 1999, Indymedia has grown into a network of over 160 Independent Media Centers (IMCs) all over the world by means of a commitment to equality, decentralization, autonomy and social justice. Indymedia is a tactic for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of truth.

Santa Cruz Indymedia volunteers welcome greater participation from other people interested in independent media; internships are possible. Come and join us at our meetings at Barrios Unidos (1817 Soquel Ave.) on the second Sunday of the month at 7:00pm. For more information, please email [scimc@indymedia.org](mailto:scimc@indymedia.org). On the Web @ [indybay.org/santacruz/](http://indybay.org/santacruz/) (local) and [www.indymedia.us](http://www.indymedia.us) (US-IMC).

### WHY INDEPENDENT MEDIA?

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These corporate media outlets are legally responsible to their shareholders to maximize profits. Lest anyone doubt that conflict of interest might create media bias: consider that NBC is owned by General Electric, which also owns Westinghouse, which collaborated with Boeing and Northrop Grumman to produce the B-2 bomber and the F-18 fighter plane. Via-

### THE PROJECT

A student-run publication that comes out a couple of times during the academic year, **The Project** highlights current events and features articles on activist strategy, DIY, and a community calendar, among other things.

The purpose of this newspaper collective is to document and inspire strategic radical actions that are relevant to local, regional and global socioeconomic justice. We believe independent media plays a crucial role in facilitating dialogue, organizing mass mobilizations and encouraging daily acts of resistance.

Want to get involved? Email: [projectcollective@riseup.net](mailto:projectcollective@riseup.net)

com (owner of CBS), Disney (owner of ABC), Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation (owner of Fox), General Electric (NBC) and AOL Time Warner control 75% of prime time television production. Clear Channel owns 1225 radio stations in 300 cities across the country, and controls audience shares in 100 out of 112 major markets. A recent Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ruling relaxed restrictions on market ownership by the largest media corporations, allowing one company to control up to 45% of the national television market, and to control print as well as television markets in a given area. This ruling is currently being contested.

# Feminism for Everybody!

by Alexis Shotwell and Chris Dixon

We're sorry, but we still live in a society structured by multiple forms of oppression and privilege. One of the biggies intersecting all other forms is patriarchy, or sexism. The term "patriarchy" may seem a little outdated. After all, it literally means "rule of the fathers" and many of us would say that our fathers aren't ruling us. Still, patriarchy is a good term to keep around, because it names a form of gendered power that is still very present in all of our lives. We're talking here about a complex web of ideas, everyday practices, social systems, and ensconced institutions that form some people into men, other people into women, punish those who refuse to conform, and give social and material power to men. "Power" here means having the ability to influence important decisions and formations – about politics, money, and relationships on a scale that runs from government all the way down to our kitchens and bedrooms.

Here at UCSC we can see lots of examples of patriarchal power at work in our daily lives. You might see sexism in your classrooms. The articles and books you read might all be written by white men, or the course might include token reference to one or two women, usually also white and straight. In lecture, you might notice that profs and TAs remember men's names more frequently than women's, or call on men (also usually white and middle class) more often and with more respectful attention. Sexism also likely affects the grades you get, though also always in relation to other kinds of privilege you're partaking, or not, in. You might see patriarchy manifesting in social settings – parties, cafes, on the bus (check out who's wearing the "Freshman girls – get them while they're skinny" T-shirts, and notice how you feel). You might see it in whether you feel comfortable walking down the path to the library after dark. You might see sexism in how you're treated at the health center (especially if you have to go there once a year for a pelvic exam!) – does your doctor assume that you're incapable of using contraception correctly and recommend that you get a carcinogenic Depo-Provera implant?

Notice that, when we talk about patriarchy, it doesn't stand alone. Systems of oppression and privilege – patriarchy, racism and white supremacy, class stratification under capitalism, heterosexism and gender binarism, and others – intertwine in all aspects of our lives. All of us here – students, janitors, professors, bus drivers, food service workers, and so on – live lives in relation to our gender, who we want to have sex with, how much money we have, how others read our skin color and ethnicity, etc. For instance, being white and middle class affords considerable opportunity in this university setting and in Santa Cruz – both in who can come here and who can live here. These forms of privilege, in turn, deeply affect how each of us experiences gender oppression or privilege, and vice versa. It's important to think about patriarchy in relation to other ways we're positioned, because tearing it down will involve challenging it all.

We also see, here at UCSC, daily struggles against the way patriarchy warps, limits, and messes with all of us – weekly self defense trainings for responding to sexual harassment and assault, Women's Studies classes, institutional resources like the UCSC Women's Center, individual people naming the sexism they see around them and challenging gender binarism, and (more powerfully) groups of people coming together to work against the normalization of patriarchal power. One way to understand many of these struggles is as expressions of feminist practice. "Feminism" is another term that sometimes seems outdated. Feminism is often attached to the Women's Liberation movement of the 1960s and 70s. Imperfectly, it attempted to challenge the disparities and power imbalances affecting women, including sex-

role stereotypes, wage gaps, private and public violence against women, inequities in household labor, and more. Through interventions by women who were often marginalized by the women's liberation movement – frequently working class and queer women of color – much feminism has taken on a more radical, comprehensive analysis. It is a theory and practice that seeks to challenge not only sexism but all systems of oppression.

Happily, this theory and practice is available to everyone. You don't have to be a woman to fight patriarchy. In fact, it will take people of all genders to fundamentally transform our society into a place where we all want to live. **Lets start now!**

## Resources

**UCSC Women's Center:** Cardiff House, 459-2072 , <http://www2.ucsc.edu/wmcenter/>


**Rape Prevention Education** 459-2721 *Student Health Center*, Room 147

**Gay Lesbian Bisexual Transgender Intersex Resource Center (GLBTIRC)** 459-2468 Merrill College (next to KZSC)

**Walnut Avenue Women's Center**, 303 Walnut Avenue 426-3062

**The Diversity Center** 1117 Soquel Avenue 425-5422.

Hooks, Bell. *Feminism is for Everybody* (South End Press, 2000)



**FOR EVERY GIRL WHO IS TIRED OF ACTING WEAK WHEN SHE IS STRONG, THERE IS A BOY TIRED OF APPEARING STRONG WHEN HE FEELS VULNERABLE. FOR EVERY BOY WHO IS BURDENED WITH THE CONSTANT EXPECTATION OF KNOWING EVERYTHING, THERE IS A GIRL TIRED OF PEOPLE NOT TRUSTING HER INTELLIGENCE. FOR EVERY GIRL WHO IS TIRED OF BEING CALLED OVER-SENSITIVE, THERE IS A BOY WHO FEARS TO BE GENTLE, TO WEEP. FOR EVERY BOY FOR WHOM COMPETITION IS THE ONLY WAY TO PROVE HIS MASCULINITY, THERE IS A GIRL WHO IS CALLED UNFEMININE WHEN SHE COMPETES. FOR EVERY GIRL WHO THROWS OUT HER E-Z-BAKE OVEN, THERE IS A BOY WHO WISHES TO FIND ONE. FOR EVERY BOY STRUGGLING NOT TO LET ADVERTISING DICTATE HIS DESIRES, THERE IS A GIRL FACING THE AD INDUSTRY'S ATTACKS ON HER SELF-ESTEEM. FOR EVERY GIRL WHO TAKES A STEP TOWARD HER LIBERATION, THERE IS A BOY WHO FINDS THE WAY TO FREEDOM A LITTLE EASIER.**



# Tools for White Guys Who Are Working for Social Change (and other people socialized in a society based on domination)

*This page has some great suggestions for anyone involved in social justice organizing:*

1. Practice noticing who's in the room at meetings - how many gender privileged men (biological men), how many women, how many transgendered people, how many white people, how many people of color? Is it majority heterosexual, are there queers, what are people's class backgrounds? Don't assume to know people, just work at being more aware and listen to what people say. Talk one on one to people you work with.

2a. Count how many times you speak and keep track of how long you speak.

2b. Count how many times other people speak and keep track of how long they speak.

3. Be conscious of how often you are actively listening to what other people are saying as opposed to just waiting your turn thinking about what you'll say next. Keep a notebook so that you can write down your thoughts and then focus on what other people are saying. As a white guy who talks a lot, I've found it helpful to write down my thoughts and wait to hear what others have to say (frequently others will be thinking something similar and then you can support their initiative).

4. Practice going to meetings or hanging out with people focused on listening and learning - not to get caught in the paralysis of whether or not you have anything useful to say, but acting from a place of valuing other people's knowledge and experiences.

5a. Pay attention to how many times you put ideas out to the group you work with.

5b. Notice how often you support other people's ideas for the group.

6. Practice supporting people by asking them to expand on ideas and get more in-depth.

7a. Think about whose work and what contributions to the group get recognized.

7b. Practice recognizing more people for the work they do and try to do it more often. This also includes men offering support to other men who aren't recognized and actively challenging competitive dynamics that men are socialized to act out with each other.

8. Practice asking more people what they think about events, ideas, actions, strategy and vision. White guys tend to talk amongst themselves and develop strong bonds that manifest in organizing. These informal support structures often help reinforce informal leadership structures as well. Asking people what they think and really listening is a core ingredient to healthy group dynamics: think about who you ask and who you really listen to. Developing respect and solidarity across race, class, gender and sexuality is complex and difficult, but absolutely critical - and liberating. Those most negatively impacted by systems of oppression have and will play leading roles in the struggle for collective liberation.

9. Be aware of how often you ask people to do something as opposed to asking other people "what needs to be done": logistics, child care, making phone calls, cooking, providing emotional support and following up with people are often undervalued responsibilities performed by people who are gender oppressed (biological women and trans folks).

10. Struggle with the saying, "you will be needed in the movement when you realize that you are not needed in the movement".

11. Struggle and work with the model of group leadership that says the responsibility of leaders is to help develop more leaders. Reflect upon what this means to you: how do you support others and what support do you need from others.

This includes men providing emotional and political support to other men. How can men work to be allies to each other in the

struggle to develop radical models of anti-racist, class conscious, pro-queer, feminist manhood that challenges strict binary gender roles and categories. This is also about struggling to recognize leadership roles while also redefining leadership as actively working to build power with others rather than power over others.

12. Remember that social change is a process, and that our individual transformation and individual liberation is intimately interconnected with social transformation and social liberation. Life is profoundly complex and there are many contradictions. Remember that the path we travel is guided by love, dignity and respect - even when it brings us to tears and is difficult to navigate. As we struggle let us also love ourselves.

13. This list is not limited to white guys, nor is it intended to reduce all white guys into one category. This list is intended to disrupt patterns of domination which hurt our movement and hurt each other. White guys have a lot of work to do, but if we white guys support and challenge each other, while also building trust and compassion we can heal ourselves in the process.

14. Day-to-day patterns of domination are the glue that maintain systems of domination. The struggle against capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy, heterosexism and the state, is also the struggle towards collective liberation.

15. No one is free until we are all free.

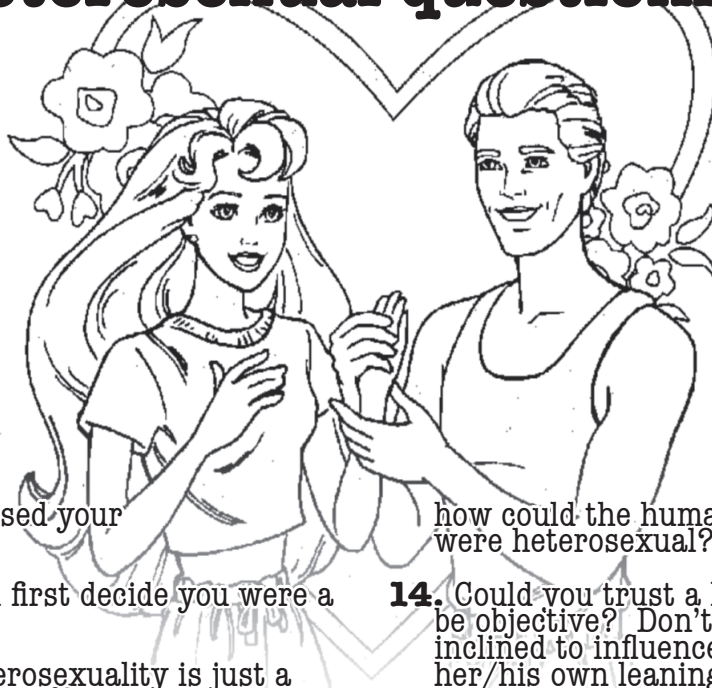


**For more reading, check out:**

*On the Road to Healing: A Booklet for Men Against Sexism*

P.O. Box 84171 Seattle, Washington 98124  
or [plantingseeds@tao.ca](mailto:plantingseeds@tao.ca)

# heterosexual questionnaire



1. What do you think caused your heterosexuality?
2. When and how did you first decide you were a heterosexual?
3. Is it possible your heterosexuality is just a phase you may grow out of?
4. Could it be that your heterosexuality stems from a neurotic fear of others of the same sex?
5. If you've never slept with a person of the same sex, how can you be sure you wouldn't prefer that?
6. To whom have you disclosed your heterosexual tendencies? How did they react?
7. Why do heterosexuals feel compelled to seduce others into their lifestyle?
8. Why do you insist on flaunting your heterosexuality? Can't you just be what you are and keep it quiet?
9. Would you want your children to be heterosexual, knowing the problems they'd face?
10. A disproportionate majority of child molesters are heterosexual men. Do you consider it safe to expose children to heterosexual male teachers, pediatricians, priests, or scoutmasters?
11. With all the societal support for marriage, the divorce rate is spiraling. Why are there so few stable relationships among heterosexuals?
12. Why do heterosexuals place so much emphasis on sex?
13. Considering the menace of overpopulation, how could the human race survive if everyone were heterosexual?
14. Could you trust a heterosexual therapist to be objective? Don't you fear s/he might be inclined to influence you in the direction of her/his own leanings?
15. Heterosexuals are notorious for assigning themselves and one another rigid, stereotyped sex roles. Why must you cling to such unhealthy role-playing?
16. With the sexually segregated living conditions of military life, isn't heterosexuality incompatible with military service?
17. How can you enjoy an emotionally fulfilling experience with a person of the other sex when there are such vast differences between you? How can a man know what pleases a woman sexually or vice-versa?
18. Shouldn't you ask your far-out straight cohorts, like skinheads and born-again, to keep quiet? Wouldn't that improve your image?
19. Why are heterosexuals so promiscuous?
20. Why do you attribute heterosexuality to so many famous lesbian and gay people? Is it to justify your own heterosexuality?
21. How can you hope to actualize your God-given homosexual potential if you limit yourself to exclusive, compulsive heterosexuality?
22. There seem to be very few happy heterosexuals. Techniques have been developed that might enable you to change if you really want to. After all, you never deliberately chose to be a heterosexual, did you? Have you considered aversion therapy or Heterosexuals Anonymous?





# QUEER!

Our whole lives are shaped around the idea that there are two genders. Men and women are supposed to use separate bathrooms, shop in their assigned departments, and act in different ways. Most people spend their whole lives trying to live up to the gender they're expected to be. Companies make millions of dollars every year off of products that are supposed to make us more perfectly gendered.

The terms to describe sexuality - straight/gay/bi/lesbian - are similarly restrictive because they are based on the limiting definitions of man/woman and because they don't incorporate the other aspects that make up our sexuality, like how we engage in what kind of sex. In response to the gay liberation movement of the 70s, the institutional definition of 'normal' expanded slightly to allow some room for gays and lesbians to exist openly. But over time, this has taken the shape of commodification, where gay and lesbian identities and people are exploited, tokenized, and fetishized. Gender and sexuality don't always fit into the categories that are available to us, but there still isn't much space for people to exist outside of gender binaries and homo/heterosexual.

On campus and downtown there are a couple of places created to be safe for people with non-normative genders and sexualities.

The Lionel Cantu Gay Lesbian Bisexual Transgender Intersex Resource Center is a sweet queer space to escape the campus crowds. It's up at Merrill, open Monday through Friday, and has comfy chairs, a kitchen, good lighting, and lots of printed and people resources. It's a good place to meet people, take a break, and feel gender safe. The Resource Center aims to do education, advocacy, and to provide a safe space for queer UCSC students.  
>>> [www.queer.ucsc.edu](http://www.queer.ucsc.edu)

Downtown, there's the Diversity Center - (The Santa Cruz County Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center). They do Friday night movies, a queer youth task force, a senior task force, host Santa Cruz Pride every year, and offer a walk-in resource. They're a good bet if you're interested in volunteering in a queer space in Santa Cruz, and worth checking out especially if you want to get off campus and maybe help with the teen programming.

1117 Soquel Avenue  
(831) 425-5422  
[info@diversitycenter.org](mailto:info@diversitycenter.org)



'Queer' is an inclusive term that allows us to break out of traditional definitions man and woman and straight and gay to describe infinite possibilities within gender, sexuality and sexual practices. 'Queer' can be used to name everything that's not straight - which we think of as one male-bodied-guy and one female-bodied gal having penile-vaginal intercourse regularly in the missionary position. The possibilities named by queer are much wider than the labels gay, lesbian, bisexual, and even trans, and intersex can encompass. When you add a flexible or unconventional gender identity, sexual orientation, and/or sexual practice to the mix the possibilities are endless. There are more genders than two, more orientations than same/other and same/same, and so many fun sexual practices that we can't even think of them all. Gender and sexuality identities aren't stable - they can change over time. It's okay to not know what you prefer, or to try something new. We just hope you can carve out a space to be the gender you dream of, have fun sex with the folks you're attracted to instead of the ones you're expected to, and to join the still-desperate struggle for political, social, emotional, and psychic freedom for queers and our allies.



- How do you define gender?
- How many genders are there?
- What would the world look like without gender?
- In what ways do you feel confined or restricted to your assigned gender?
- Was the gender assigned to you the one you feel most comfortable with?
- What privileges do you or don't you have due to the gender you've been labeled?
- Do you feel forced to act in certain ways because of gender?
- What happens when you don't act in these ways?
- How do we unlearn gender?

# RETHINKING

# REVOLUTION

By Sean Burns

*Revolution: the resonate, echoing mantra of the radical tradition. The photosynthesis of the radical imaginary. Revolution. Say it with me. Revolution. The word is like shaman's brew bridging one world to another: the world as we know it with the world as we dream it. Viva la revolución! Un otro mundo es posible! But, wait, not so fast...*



No, I said community, not commodity!

What dreams *does* the word revolution conjure up? The 20<sup>th</sup> Century witnessed a whole range of revolutions born as dream, raised as nightmare. Time and time again, seizure of state power was held up as the holy grail of emancipatory transformation – think Russia or China. And time and time again, these revolutionary states proceeded to control and murder their populations at genocidal levels. From this historical angle, revolution looks like a grim mirror image of the social order it seeks to transcend.

This violent paradox gives you a sense of the backdrop against which I believe we need to rigorously think through what this word – revolution – can mean for us today. If you're interested (as I am) in holding onto the word, I would argue it's a vital time to reconceptualize its meaning. A kind of revolutionizing of revolution – at once philosophical and deeply concrete and pragmatic.

My starting point for reconceptualizing revolution is this: social transformation occurs within specific political, economic, and cultural conditions. Formulas, generalizations, and universal proclamations about social change should be examined with great skepticism. Historically, revolution has most often been thought of as the seizure of government through armed insurgency. Whether such seizures have led to positive changes in living conditions for the majority is, as I have suggested, complicated. What has been described as revolution has so often been the overthrow of one authoritarian leadership by another. This is the primary reason why I think the insurgent toppling of government should not necessarily be thought of as revolution. After all, what has changed? New faces, new rhetoric, same violence and oppression.

Revolution should be reserved to describe the overthrow of a society's dominant myths. By dominant myths I mean the set of prevailing political, economic, and cultural assumptions and practices that determine a society's most foundational order. Dominant myths exert power by virtue of their wide spread perceived legitimacy. The issue is not whether they are true or false (that's irrelevant). The issue is whether a majority of people buy into their premises and everyday implications. Some of the dominant myths which structure life in the United States are:

- White supremacy
- The belief that private property is natural, and that privatization and the expansion of the free market can bring stability and prosperity to all
- Hierarchy (and most notably patriarchy) is necessary for the maintenance of order
- War ensures peace
- The natural world is inherently competitive and antagonistic
- There is, in the broadest sense, not enough for everyone. Not enough land, not enough food, not enough happiness, not enough time.

You'll notice how many of these ideas seem to connect up with others.

The last point to raise about dominant myths is that while legitimacy is most often achieved through struggle and influence on the ideological level (that is to say the social playing field of ideas), dominant myths will in many circumstances be born, defined and reinforced through physical violence. Forced displacement of indigenous peoples, lynching, the CIA, and recourse to martial law are just a few examples. As Rudolph Rocker says, "Power's intellectual form of expression is dead dogma, its physical form is brute force." This relationship between violence and dominant myths is very important for thinking about revolution in the United States. I need not remind you we live in the most powerfully militarized state ever; there are no remotely close comparisons. Armed insurgency (which I differentiate from localized instances of armed defense) is not practical.

The first fronts of revolutionary practice in the United States are the subversion and delegitimation of dominant myths and the creative forging of alternative modes of thought and action. This is revolution conceived of as a constant process of bringing social ends and means together. Egalitarian vision infuses and sustains



social struggle; social struggle infuses and sustains egalitarian visions. This conception of revolution, rooted in the decolonization of everyday life, guards against the related traps of waiting for revolution (someday the conditions will be right...) or thinking revolution is near at hand (as many late '60's radicals felt). This conception of revolution draws resources from contradictions in so far as it recognizes that dominant myths are never invincible and bolted down – they can be shaken up, moved, reconfigured, tossed and tagged. At the same time, subversion and resistance must see contradictions in their very conditions for possibility and remember that dominant myths die slow psychic deaths. Grand, self-righteous notions of living a pure existence beyond

and outside of oppressive dominant myths tends toward short sightedness and vanguardism. This often leads to what some people call "sectarianism" – a situation where different social change groups (often quite small in size) squabble over the precise and correct way to advance change.

My feeling is we need multiple tools and strategies to dismantle powers that are as concentrated as those we confront today. More often than not, different ideologies and tactics create essential space for one another to work in, an effect which is under-appreciated in arguments over who is right and wrong. Revolution, after all, must proceed through a heightened spirit of experimentalism. This is not to say that concrete strategic differences should not be wrestled with and worked through. Quite the contrary, we need to maximize critical exchange around what kinds of long-term visions we hold and what kinds of immediate community projects and coalition building will get us living aspects of our dreams. This combined, participatory effort is the very work of revolution.



# Choosing Classes That Don't *Totally* Suck.



Choosing classes is important. The classes you take can define the direction and quality of your life. Despite all of the fucked up things the University does, it's still a place where engaged students can gain tools for understanding and undermining oppressive social systems. You just have to know where to look.

We would love to be able to recommend radical classes and faculty to you. But it's not that easy: it's hard to know what classes will be taught from quarter to quarter; recently, some awesome professors have been forced out of the University; good professors can teach not-so-good classes and so on.

So we thought that the best way to help you with your class search is to give you some information about unconventional departments at UCSC (the ones that your parents won't tell you to major in).

The following departments usually offer a critical approach to understanding the world. They offer classes that will help you fulfill general education requirements, alternative majors, or just some good information. We hope that this list can point you in the right direction when you're browsing through the list of classes. This

list isn't perfect, you can find good classes in plenty of other departments and the classes that fall under these departments will probably be lacking somehow. We hope this helps.

> **Environmental Studies** can be an approach to science. It's a great way to study science for science's sake, without military funding.

> **Latin American/Latin@ Studies** looks closely at the intersecting histories of Latin America and the US. It presents a radical approach to understanding international and interracial power dynamics.

> **The American Studies Department's** goal is to understand Americans from various social and cultural backgrounds by examining racial, ethnic, gender, sexual, class, and regional dynamics in the nation's past and present.

> **The Community Studies Department** offers a few cool classes each quarter, but is mostly notable for its unconventional major program. A major in this department revolves around a social justice oriented six-month field study.

> **The Feminist Studies Department** analyzes how gender constructions operate socially, politically, and culturally.

The department emphasizes transnational, multiracial, and multi-cultural approaches.

> **The History of Consciousness Department** doesn't offer a major but they have a variety of cool lower division classes on a range of topics that theoretically deal with what people think and how they came to think it.

\* Whatever classes you take, approach them critically. Bring race, class, gender, and sexuality analyses to discussions where they are absent. You don't need to talk in class to do this. Communicate one-on-one via office hours; most professors and TAs are also responsive to e-mails.

\* Also remember to take advantage of the Pass/No Pass option. You can take a quarter of your classes Pass/No Pass. It makes those gen-eds more palatable or make hard classes less stressful.

Creating an individual major can give you an opportunity to work outside of established departments and define your educational career. Since UCSC was founded, the University has created more and more bureaucratic loops for students who want to design their own major and the number of students choosing this option has steadily decreased (read more about this history on page 10). To declare an individual major you need to:

a. Design a major that is "distinct from any approved major or program."

b. Convince your academic adviser, college, and find three faculty sponsors.

Academic advisers are notorious for trying to talk students out of creating their own majors. Persevere! We believe in you.



For a worthwhile education  
learn the 3 'R's:

**Resist, Rebel,  
Revolt!**

# Take Back Your Education!

*Some Student Run Classes At UCSC*

## Just try it.

Take a moment to reflect, on why you are here at this educational institution called UCSC. Are you here to learn something new? Have more agency in your education? Find something you are

passionate about (or pursue your existing passion)? Would you, if you had the chance, want to create your own education that focuses on real life issues with the goal of actually making a difference (and get credit for it)? Meditate on that for a minute, because it concerns 4+ years of your life!

That opportunity for empowerment exists and is encouraging you to self-actualize! Take a look at these student run classes offered at UCSC. They will offer you more control over your education, and an avenue to be actively involved in your education and your community.



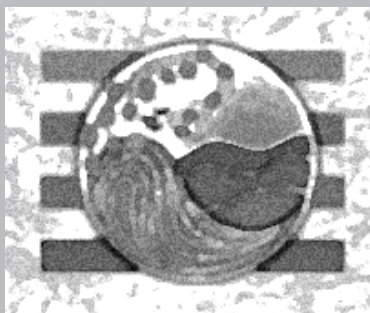
## The Education for Sustainable Living Program (ESLP)

Some of you might have seen a flyer or heard by word of mouth about the Education for Sustainable Living Program (ESLP). But if you haven't, it is an international award-winning (Oikos award) educational program that represents a collaborative interdisciplinary endeavor by students, faculty, administrators, and community members. It is a student-initiated and student-directed class that was envisioned at UCSC by visionary students three years ago to explore possibilities for increasing the sustainability of the UCs. Currently, it is running at UCLA, UCSB, SB City College, UCD, UCB, and UCSD, with Cabrillo Community College in the works!

ESLP was envisioned by students, meaning it is an educational model that answers to what students see as truly valuable in education. There are various ways to be part of this project: to help shape, develop, fine-tune the class as an organizer, or be part of an Action Research Team (5-units), or just to take it for 2-units to find out what it's about (or even just to audit the class). Spring 2006, there were over 250 students enrolled at UCSC alone, and about 500 people attended the Vandana Shiva (physicist, ecofeminist, environmental activist from India) lecture!

In the Spring, we have local and world-renowned speakers come

to share and inspire us with promising ideas and actions to address serious social, environmental, and human rights issues. Additionally, students can join Action Research Teams (ARTs), which are student directed research groups focused on a particular avenue for sustainable change. Topics range from social justice issues of homelessness in Santa Cruz, to human rights issues such as the genocide in Sudan, to environmental topics such as permaculture. The goal of ARTs is to effect tangible change on our campus and the Santa Cruz community that is lasting and beneficial to all stakeholders.



One of the key principles in ESLP is collaborative change, meaning that we seek to work with all key players in order to realize a more sustainable future. The Fall is when we plan for Winter and Spring quarter, and address concerns of the past year. In the Winter, we have the Winter Training Seminar where ambitious students learn facilitation skills, explore topics of sustainability, and develop ARTs for the upcoming Spring. Be part of this program, work with other inspired people, and enjoy your education and future!!!

For more information, visit: <http://www.eslp.net/> (click on Santa Cruz) and contact an organizer.



## The Engaging Education Class

Engaging Education (or e<sup>2</sup> - see page 17 for more info) sponsors this student-run seminar. The class is held weekly and sponsored by supportive faculty who are invested in empowering students, and bridging both academics and activism on campus. Students educate themselves and their peers while challenging what they

have been taught. This class is offered every quarter for 3 or 5 credits. If you are interested please contact the e<sup>2</sup> center directly:

e-mail: ucsc\_e2@yahoo.com

Main: 831-459-1743

## Pilipino Historical Dialogue (PHD)

### Underrepresentation of Asian American/ Pacific Islander Courses

in the curriculum led to the forming of Pilipino Historical Dialogue (PHD) as a project for core members in the Filipino Student Association. Since then it has expanded, and is now open to the whole campus as a 5 credit class. The class is structured as a dialogue, a conversation between students on the topic of Filipino/Fil-Am history. In previous years, the class has focused on issues such as Colonialism and Education, Identity, Diaspora, and Gender and Sexuality. In each class, students undertake a group research project on diverse topics such as Religion, Identity, Hip Hop, Food, Pop Culture and more.

While this class was formed for and by Filipino students, it is open to everybody. Filipino History is important for everyone to learn because it has a lot to do with U.S. history, transnationalism, women's issues, imperialism, globalization and other topics integral to many academic theories. There are also many commonalities between different histories; it is necessary to explore those similarities and differences through dialogue so that inter-cultural work can be done.

As a student of Filipino heritage, it is glaringly obvious to me that the curriculum at my high school and at my university have left me out. I refuse to believe that my family and my people have no place in American text books. I refuse to believe that the Philippines' only importance is its relationship to the United States. I refuse to sit idly by while everything around me teaches me to hate myself. I will reclaim my heritage and my identity and make it mine for me alone.

by Joanna Raymundo  
PHD Facilitator and FSA Academic Co-Chair 2004-2005

### Here are some concepts explored in PHD:

**History:** How can we define History? How can we speak our stories when our parents and our grandparents have been silenced for so long? If History is written by the victors, does this mean we are the losers?

**Double Consciousness:** To see yourself through someone else's eyes. And to always feel inferior to that someone. To know that the "you" that is perceived does not often reflect the "you" that is projected.

**Agency:** The many ways that people manifest their own will. As a Filipina I am glad to take my life into my own hands. I am responsible for my actions and how they affect other people. I am responsible for my own liberation, but I owe a great debt to the people who struggled here before me. Agency is what I use to take a stand.

**Space:** I now know the importance of space, and of safe spaces. Reclaiming History cannot be done without reclaiming Space. There are so many times that I feel I don't belong, that I have no right to occupy this space. We, along with all people who are oppressed and feel unwelcome in this country, have a right to be here. We have a right to sit among ourselves and to feel at home in whatever space we decide to claim. We have a right to use the resources on this campus, and to reclaim the ones being taken from us.

## Asian American Pacific Islander Perspectives (AA/PIP)

by Ashley Uyeda and Amanda Wake  
AA/PIP facilitators and AA/PIPC founders

### Underrepresentation of Asian American/ Pacific Islander Courses

in the curriculum at UCSC has commanded the attention and concern of UCSC students, faculty, and staff, as well as students and faculty on other campuses. Judy Yung's American Studies 80 Course, Introduction to Asian American Studies, was the main source from which students were educated in Asian American Studies. This successful lower division, introductory course appealed to students from all years and majors, benefiting up to 200 students a year. However, Judy Yung has yet to be replaced since her retirement and the courses she once taught are now absent from the curriculum.

**Students have taken action because** the Asian American/Pacific Islander Professor position remains unfilled in the American Studies Department. During winter quarter, a group of students, staff, and faculty formed the Asian American/Pacific Islander Professor Coalition. This coalition is working to bring about and spread awareness of this current situation and get a tenured AA/PI Professor hired within American Studies.

### Students took responsibility for their education

in this absence. The Asian American/Pacific Islander Perspectives (AA/PIP)'s purpose is to facilitate discussions around AA/PI identity formation in the U.S. Through the course, students look at contemporary AA/PI experiences, draw on personal experience, look at current issues and make direct connections to the past. The class is committed to creating an ongoing dialogue around the question, "What does it mean to be Asian American/Pacific Islander?" This class has been initiated by students for students, out of necessity. But even though students chose to facilitate these courses, it is by no means students' responsibility to offer courses that the University is failing to provide.



# Books! To Read!

## History

Allen, Robert - *Reluctant Reformers: Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States*  
Baehr, Ninia - *Abortion Without Apology: A Radical History for the 1990s*  
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In this section you'll find tips on cultivating positive sexual relations, resources for a healthy sex life, and ideas about regaining control and agency in our reproductive lives. If that isn't sexy, then what is?

# SEX: In Three Parts

By Alexis Shotwell

We don't have that many things we do just for the pleasure of it, just because of how they make us feel or how they're making other people feel. You can probably think of lots of things that match this description—playing fabulous music, cooking wonderfully, napping. I encourage you to think of these things, and then go out and do them—they're things that fight the soul-sucking misery that is capitalism. Sex is right up there, though, on the list of pleasure-for-its-own-sake activities.

And so it bugs me that often sex ends up being horribly mis-managed and not fun, or flat out fucked up, or explicitly an exercise in demeaning yuckiness. Sex is a good thing, and we should have a fabulous time doing it, but we might also need to keep some guidelines in mind. The following are my bossy ideas for how to keep the deliciousness-neurosis ratio low.

**Part One:** Before you get to the salty, sweet, sweaty bits involved with sex, there's the time between identifying someone you'd like to get with and actual canoodling. In my experience, the main neurosis in this part comes from people not being able to talk to each other ethically. If you're attracted to someone, there are two times when the responsible thing to do is tell them how you're feeling:

- 1) when you have an idea that they might return the favor, or
- 2) when you're obsessing, your crush is causing you anguish, or when it's ruining your friendship.

Ethical divulging of attraction minimizes the embarrassment factor inevitably involved for yourself and your potential smoochees. I suggest scripts like these: "I'd love to hang out with you for the third time this week. But I want you to know that I have carnal intentions toward you. How do you

feel about that?" or "I have to confess that I'm feeling a bit crushed out on you - are you interested in kissing later?" or "Can we make out, even though I'm not up for a romantic relationship at the moment?" Notice that these are verbal representations of what is sometimes supposed to be a purely spontaneous, "you just know" kind of event. Don't get me wrong: I'm all for wordless goodness. Trouble is that moving in, lips puckered,

can leave the recipient of your pucker with no smooth way to take a bit more time, let you know that actually he has a boyfriend in Baltimore, or whatever.

The pre-naked part can go wrong when your crush is pure fabrication. This is a non-consensual crush: the object of your affection is unaware of your interest, or uninterested, and you persist in interpreting their every action as proof of your excellent chances to someday soon nibble their earlobe. Which is why talking is good. The main point: you should refrain from projecting stuff on people you're into, you should communicate clearly, gently, and honestly with them, and you should make every effort to relinquish unrequited crushes.

This is also the part where you go out and get tested for sexually transmitted in-

fections, most notably HIV and hepatitis. Results generally take a week or two to get back to you, which should be enough time for you to decide if you're really interested in your new crush. Heck, just go down to the Health Center and get tested right now.

**Part Two:** And then you've made it to sex narrowly defined - there's probably kissing, groping, tingly goodness, and perhaps bare skin. Yay! But also, Yipes! What to do? Here I have three recommendations:

- 1) Don't base the kind of sex you have on movies, bad romance novels, or an abstract idea of what you should be doing. While a lot of the time the naked part is easy and fun, there is a fair chance that there'll be some awkwardness. Many of us tend to fall into patterns that are really pretty messed up - and rigidly heteronormative sex isn't fun, even for straight couples. Sometimes you find yourself in bed with someone who has—or have yourself—



difficult or painful history with sex. So again with the communication, which doesn't have to be verbal but can be. Check with your partner(s) as you go, and be willing to shift what you're doing. Communicate how you're doing, yourself: If the person you're kissing turns out to be a massively tongue-ful kisser, and you prefer upper-lip subtle licking, demonstrate what you're into on them and request they try it. This is often a really hard thing to do—we're all willing to turn other people on, but often have a hard time asking them to change what or how they're doing things with/to us.

**2)** Be willing to stop explicitly sexual activities, even after they've started. If you've developed a hesitation, say so. If you're fine with kissing but not with nipple pinching, say "I'm good to go with the kissing, but don't pinch my nipple." If you want to stop making out altogether, say so. If the person or people you're in bed with express a wish to stop an activity—or sex as a whole—for heaven's sake, stop! You have the option to masturbate later, but this is the moment to pay attention to what's happening around you.

**3)** Be willing to expand the horizons of what turns you on. If your new honey likes nothing better than going down on you, and you're not sure what you think about it, give it a shot. Or if she'd really like to try sex with a new strap-on in the shower, see if there's a place in your libido for that. Or if he's into role-plays, play along. If any of the potential activities are stretches for you, set up time limits: five minutes of cunnilingus, unless I tell you explicitly I want you to keep going. We stop with the strap on if the hot water runs out.

And in general: Don't fall into the trap of assuming that sex is only sex if penetration happens, or if there are massive yelling orgasms—these are fine but unnecessary ingredients. As with part one, the keywords here are "ethical behavior," which involves communication, emotional flexibility, and being present in the moment.

Finally: these are still potentially dangerous times, my friends! Before any potentially fluid-exchange-y activities, you gotta talk about when the last time you got tested was and what sex you've had since then. This is never a hugely sexy conversation, but with practice, it'll become just another aspect of your erotics of talk. And since you'll have listened to my wise advice in Part One, at this point you'll already have been tested. Regardless, latex = good.

**Part Three:** Especially if this was the first time you've hooked up with someone, the post-naked time can be neurosis-making. What are they thinking? When will you see each other again? This is another time to refrain from projecting and be open to conversation. You may have decided that you're not interested in any more hoo-ha, or that you're interested in lots more sweaty sweetness. In either case, ideally you'll let the person in question know where you're at—again, clearly, gently, and honestly. This doesn't have to be a huge production, but some communication is in order, post-sex—it's actually part of sex. Don't make assumptions about people you've had sex with! Don't pretend not to see them! Don't obsessively hang out in bars they frequent to remind them that you exist without talking about the fact that you were recently touching tummies! And if they're weird and refuse to talk to you, be angry at them, and reach for a state of compassion beyond pity—they're just incapable of adult behavior just yet. The ideal in this part is for clear and painless understanding of what's going on, in one of three situations:

**1)** you both want to keep having sex, and with each other (brilliant!)

**2a)** you want to and they don't (understand that you are perfect and wonderful, anyhow, and try not to argue too much with them) or

**2b)** they want to and you don't (be clear and firm, without being mean)

**3)** neither of you want to (also fine! Part civilly, and perhaps craft a friendship).



Check out

**[www.santacruzhealth.org](http://www.santacruzhealth.org)**  
for a list of all the places in Santa Cruz County to get Emergency Contraception (aka "the morning-after pill"). Find out pharmacy hours, location, and whether or not you need a prescription. EC can help prevent pregnancy if taken within 72 hours of unprotected sex!

## Resources for Sexual Bliss!

The **UCSC Health Center** provides a variety of essential services. Check out their website (<http://www2.ucsc.edu/health-center/>) to find resources such as:

### The Condom Co-op

The Condom Co-op provides condoms, dental dams, lubricants and other safer sex supplies to the campus community at a lower cost than you would find anywhere else. Starting around the third week of each quarter, students staff the Co-op at various times around campus. Co-op stuff can also be found at the Health Center Pharmacy. They also carry polyurethane condoms/dams for people who are allergic to latex, and do not recommend using spermicide because it often irritates, increasing the risk of STD transmission.

### HIV Peer Counseling & Testing

All undergraduate UCSC students are eligible for free & anonymous HIV testing provided by highly trained Peer Test Counselors. Call (831) 459-4679 with questions or to set up an appointment. They also have information about getting tested for other STDs.

**Health Center Pharmacy** - open daily 9AM - noon; 1:30 - 4:45PM.

- Fill any contraceptive prescriptions (pill, patch, ring, injection, diaphragm, cervical cap). Oral contraceptive prescriptions can often be filled at the health center pharmacy much more cheaply than elsewhere.

- Provide Emergency Contraception and counseling.

### Rape Prevention Education

Run not only educational programs but also offer support. 459-2721

### Off Campus:

Your local sexshop, Camouflage, also carries lots of goodies. Check it out at 1329 Pacific Avenue. If you're in the city, San Francisco's Good Vibrations, offers sex toys galore in a comfortable environment run by women.

**Planned Parenthood** is also a good place to get cheap or free contraceptives, abortion services, and prenatal care. In Santa Cruz, PP is located downtown at 1119 Pacific Avenue.



## Free Abortion, On Demand!

By Mara Oo

The previous pages offered some resources to help you stay sexually happy and healthy. It sure would be great if these safety measures were completely reliable and available to all of us, but they just aren't, and an unexpected pregnancy can happen to anyone. Talk about a disorientation!

This page only provides information about one way to deal with pregnancy: abortion. This is not because we are trying to push this choice, but rather because this is the choice that is still being attacked and undermined. Unlike the other pregnancy options, abortion is the target of a vicious misinformation/intimidation campaign led by anti-choice fascists (hey, call 'em like you see 'em) who want to restrict our ability to manage our own reproductive lives. That's why it is vital to spread information about abortion without censorship and without apology.

Sharing this info continues a long legacy of self-help: womyn have been educating themselves and each other about reproduction—including ways to end pregnancy—throughout all of human history. This type of consciousness-raising threatens the folks who benefit from the patriarchal power structure...a structure that is sustained in part by controlling our reproductive labor and keeping us ignorant and misinformed about our bodies.

**This history is our history!**

### Medical Abortion

This option ends a pregnancy with medicine and without surgery. First, your clinician will give you either an oral medication (*mifepistone*) or an injection (*methotrexate*) to break down the lining of the uterus and end fetal development. Second, you will take another medication (*misoprostol*) in tablet form. This causes the uterus to contract and empty with vaginal bleeding. Third, you will return to your clinician for follow-up to make sure the abortion is complete.

- Available during first 63 days of the first trimester
- Much of the process can take place in your home
- No surgical procedure or anesthesia
- May allow you to feel more in control
- **Effectiveness:** Mifepristone is 92–97% effective. Methotrexate is about 90% effective. VA is necessary if medicine fails.
- **Physical effects:** bleeding as if having a heavy period, strong cramps, temporary abdominal pain, fever and chills, nausea or vomiting, and/or diarrhea. Over-the-counter medicines can reduce symptoms.
- **Cost:** Ranges from \$350 to \$650 depending on location and may be more or less depending on whatever additional tests, visits, or exams are needed. Costs vary from community to community, based on regional and local expenses.
- *it is often possible to get the abortion costs fully covered.*

### Surgical Abortion

**Vacuum aspiration (VA)** is a way to end pregnancy by emptying the uterus with suction. The two most common methods are **manual vacuum aspiration (MVA)**, and **dilation and suction curettage (D&C)**. The method used depends on how long you have been pregnant. MVA can be done as soon as you know you are pregnant and up to 10 weeks after your last period. D&C can be performed after the first month of pregnancy and throughout the first trimester.

- Available throughout the first trimester
- Process takes place in a medical office
- Minor surgery (without incision), may involve anesthesia
- May seem as if clinician is more in control
- **Effectiveness:** Nearly 100% effective. It fails to end a pregnancy one out of 100 times and may need to be repeated.
- **Physical effects:** pain similar to strong menstrual cramps. For others, it is more uncomfortable. Local painkillers are usually used. Some clinics use a kind of medicine that allows you to be awake but deeply relaxed.
- **Cost:** Varies depending on how long you've been pregnant and where you go. Nationwide, the cost ranges from about \$350 to \$700 for abortion in the first trimester. Costs vary from community to community, based on regional and local expenses.
- *it is often possible to get the abortion costs fully covered.*



**[www.4exhale.org](http://www.4exhale.org) is a secular resource for post-abortion support**

### Alternative Abortions

Although the methods described above are generally considered to be the safest and most effective ways to end a pregnancy, they are certainly not the only ways. Herbal and do-it-yourself abortions have a long history in nearly all cultures and communities; after all, womyn have been having abortions since long before politicians and doctors gave their paternalistic and highly restricted "permission" to do so. These alternatives can take many forms such as herbal tinctures and teas that induce miscarriages, some forms of acupuncture and

reflexology that cause contractions in the uterus, and even self-help techniques that empty the womb manually. Some of these options have ancient origins, others were developed in the early 1970s by networks of underground abortion providers involved in the womyn's liberation struggle.

Why choose these alternative methods? Well, sometimes it is not a choice. Many womyn—especially the young and poor—face serious legal, economic, and social barriers which make the mainstream methods inaccessible. Others may choose alterna-

tive abortion techniques out of a dedication to natural medicine or because they reject the interference of the state and the medical establishment in their personal lives.

These alternatives vary in safety and effectiveness, so they should not be undertaken lightly. They can be life-threatening if done incorrectly, and a back-up method is a must. Do thorough research and talk to experienced people before pursuing alternative abortion techniques. The website Sister Zeus ([www.sisterzeus.com](http://www.sisterzeus.com)) may be a good place to start.

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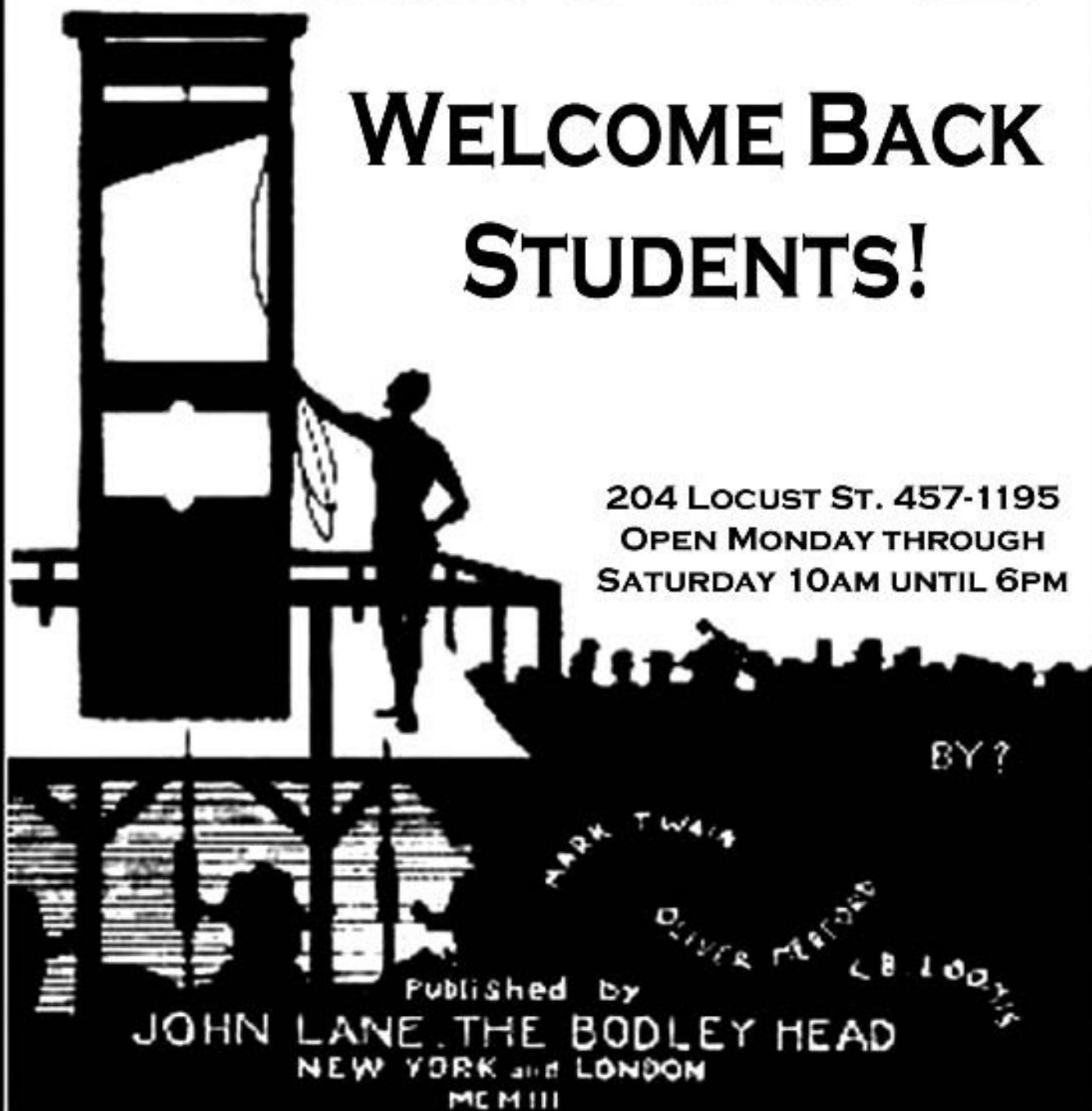
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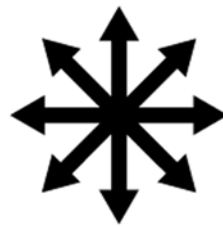
# BIKE CHURCH!

The Bicycle Church is a collectively owned and operated tool co-op with a mission of providing the tools, space, and supervision for a diverse community to learn to repair bicycles. Open from 3-7pm, Mon-Sat, the Church can help you with anything from a flat tire to building a bike from scratch. Women/Trans Only workshops every other Sunday, and lots of after-hours skill-shops as well. Need to fix up your dad's old bike as a sleek commuter to get around campus? Come on down. Along with our sister organizations, People Power and Ped X, we are The Hub, in Santa Cruz, for bicycle advocacy and sustainable transportation. And we're a lot of fun.



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# BREAKING DOWN THE

(A Glossary of terms ya might wanna know...)



## NOTE:

These definitions are of course imperfect – they're useful only because they are the thoughts of some well-intentioned people. What do your friends think?

Many of the following were adapted from those used by the Challenging White Supremacy Workshop (<http://cwsworkshop.org/>) and Women's Education in the Global Economy by the Women of Color Resource Center ([www.coloredgirls.org/](http://www.coloredgirls.org/)). See <http://colours.mahost.org/faq/definitions.html> for a more detailed discussion, including criticisms of the definitions below.

**AGENCY:** The means through which one exerts power or achieves a goal.

**ANARCHISM:** An umbrella term describing ideas that reject structures of hierarchy and power. Different branches of anarchism have different bases such as the individual, an organization, a trade union or a community.

**BUREAUCRACY:** An organizational system based on dividing responsibilities and reward in a complicated and extensive hierarchy. Corruption is common in bureaucracy because of the alienation experienced by those on the bottom of the system in addition to the lack of accountability present at the top. Excessive routine, most of which is illogical, works to make bureaucracies impenetrable.

**CAPITALISM:** An economic system based on class which values profit over all else. The majority of us (who are essential tools of this system) must sell our labor ("work") in order to live, often becoming alienated from our labor due to meaningless and uninteresting jobs (i.e. assembly lines). Meanwhile, wealthy people (often as corporations) own the facilities and tools of the system, and profit from their ownership. By any means necessary they scour the world looking for cheaper ways to accumulate more money often at the expense of

the working class.

**CLASSISM:** The belief that people deserve their privilege or lack thereof based on "merit", "social status", level of education, job, birth, etc.

**COLLECTIVISM:** The principle of distributing ownership to a group of people, rather than a single owner. There are many examples throughout history in which collectivization has transformed a workplace by achieving greater participation, increased dignity and equality of the workers.

**COLONIALISM:** A relationship in which a colonizing state establishes means to control the economy, military, politics and culture of a colonized nation or people. The purpose of colonialism is to extract maximum profits from the colonized nation for the colonizing state.

**COMMODIFICATION:** When something valuable, such as a movement, a fashion or art, is transformed into something that can be exchanged for currency. In this process desire for profit overtakes genuine passion.

**CULTURAL APPROPRIATION:** Theft of cultural elements for one's own use, commodification, or profit – including symbols, art, language, customs, etc. – often without understanding, acknowledgement, or respect for its value in the original culture. Results from the assumption of a dominant culture's right to use other cultural elements.

**DIRECT ACTION:** Any action aimed at achieving a direct result. Often used by political, social or labor organizations through strikes, protests, sabotage or any other creative plan that demands something from an institution of power and authority.

**ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM:** Racial discrimination in environmental policy-making and the enforcement of regulations and laws; the deliberate

targeting of communities of color for toxic waste facilities; the official sanctioning of the life threatening presence of poisons and pollutants in our communities; and the history of excluding people of color from the leadership of the environmental movement.

**EXPLOITATION:** A relationship in which one party is greatly mistreated or misused for the greatest possible benefit of the other party.

**FREE TRADE:** The reduction of regulations and other constraints on businesses to increase international trade. Free trade is rarely free, however; government intervention is necessary to eliminate any laws that would prevent profit-making (such as health, environmental, and labor laws) and to maintain social order (through policing and prisons, among other measures) in societies with vast and growing inequalities. (see p.36)

**GENDER BINARY SYSTEM:** A biologically determinist system of oppression which dictates that there are two acceptable genders, man or woman. This is a gender regime policed and upheld by heterosexism and patriarchy (closely linked to white supremacy and capitalism), which regulates what gender "roles" are and the punishments for challenging or deviating from those roles.

**GLOBALIZATION:** This term usually refers to the expansion of economies beyond national borders, in particular, the expansion of production by a firm to many countries around the world, i.e., globalization of production, or the "global assembly line." This has given transnational corporations power beyond countries, and has weakened any nation's ability to control corporate practices and flows of capital, set regulations, control balances of trade and exchange rates, or manage domestic economic policy. It has also



weakened the ability of workers to fight for better wages and working conditions from fear that employers may relocate to other areas. (see pp. 36-40)

**HETEROSEXISM:** An ideological and social system of compulsory and assumed heterosexuality, based on binary gender, which denies and persecutes non-heterosexual forms of behavior, identity, relationship, or community. Heterosexism also privileges people who act 'straight.'

**HIERARCHY:** Any system or structure which ranks people above one another. This structure creates a relationship of domination and subordination between those who lie on opposite sides of the spectrum. Often times these ladders are nearly impossible to climb due to corruption, racism, etc.

**HOMOPHOBIA:** The fear and persecution of queer people rooted in a desire to maintain the heterosexual social order.

**IDEOLOGY:** A belief system which shapes the way people understand and exist in the world. The state and other institutions often manipulate ideologies in order to maintain 'social control.'

**IMPERIALISM:** A policy of extending control or authority over foreign territories as a means of acquisition and/or maintenance of empires, either through direct control (i.e. military occupation) or through indirect control of the politics and/or economies of other countries (i.e. occupation by transnational corporations).

**MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX:** A term coined in WWII era by Eisenhower because of the increase in partnerships between the military and business. The increase of military

than collectively, emphasizing national rather than international goals. Nationalism is strongly linked with racism and hierarchy.

**NEOLIBERALISM:** The set of ideas that has justified the rise of capitalist globalization over the last twenty-five years. The main tenet is that "the market will take care of everything." In practice, this means countries cutting funding for social services such as education, welfare, and health care, and selling ("privatizing") publicly-owned facilities such as schools, highways, water, and energy utilities. At the same time, this means corporations and investors being given free reign to maximize their profits, whether that requires busting unions, dumping toxic waste, or destroying entire economies with volatile short-term investments.

**OPPRESSOR, OPPRESSED & OPPRESSION:** An oppressor is one who uses her/his power to dominate another, or who refuses to use her/his power to challenge that domination. An oppressed is one who is dominated by an oppressor, and by those who consent with their silence. Oppression is the power and the effects of domination. There are many forms of (often) interlocking oppressions: racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, anti-Semitism, ablism, ageism, etc. People can be oppressed by one or more of these systems while benefiting from privilege obtained from one or more of the others.

**PATRIARCHY:** An economic, political, cultural and social system of domination of women that privileges men. It is based on binary definitions of gender — male/female — with strict gender roles. It also has rigidly enforced heterosexuality that places male/straight as superior and women/queer as inferior.

**PEOPLE OF COLOR:** A term used to refer to peoples and ethnicities whose ancestral origins are from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Pacific islands, and the Americas; used instead of the term "minority" which implies inferiority and disenfranchisement. The term emphasizes common experiences of racial discrimination or racism.

**PREJUDICE:** A prejudice is a pre-judgment in favor of or against a person, a group, an event, an idea, or a thing. An action based on prejudgment is discrimination. A negative

prejudgment is often called a stereotype. An action based on a stereotype is called bigotry. (There is no power relationship necessarily implied or expressed by "prejudice,"

discrimination," "stereotype" or "bigotry.")

**PRIVILEGE:** Unearned social power accorded by the formal and informal institutions of society to all members of a dominant group (e.g. white privilege, male privilege, etc.). Privilege is usually invisible to those who have it because we're taught not to see it, but nevertheless it puts them at an advantage over those who do not have it.

**QUEER:** Queer is an umbrella term of self-identification and means different things to different people but is usually used in place of or in addition to identifications of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, or intersex. The basic idea is that queer is a gender or sexual identification that implies that the person is outside of traditional binaries of gender (male/female) and/or sexuality (gay/straight). As a definition of gender it often means that the person does not see themselves as fitting into the binary of male/female and refuses to buy into "gender roles." As a sexual definition it can mean that the person is generally homosexual but prefers the term queer because it sounds less like a text book diagnosis or that the person refuses to see sexuality as a set boundary wherein people can only be attracted to men and/or women, or any other definition that people create for themselves or their communities.

**RACE:** A classification of human beings created by Europeans (Whites). Race is often used to define social status and human worth while whiteness remains the basis or model race which all others are compared.

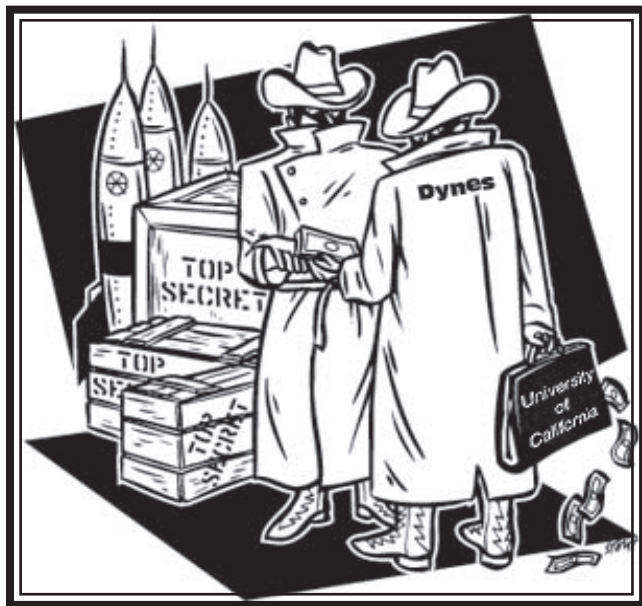
**RACISM:** Power plus racial prejudice, a system that leads to the oppression of or discrimination against specific racial or ethnic groups. Forms of racism range from internal (discriminating against one's own race) to structural (discrimination embedded in a system)

**SEXISM:** Perpetuates a system of patriarchy where men hold power and privilege and women are subordinate to men.

**SILENCING:** Situations in which people from dominant social groupings dominate discussions or dominate space.

**SYNDICALISM:** The belief that the capitalist society can be changed by the working class through the organization of labor unions. Often a rejection of conventional party politics, power is derived through direct action and the power of a united working class. The belief that workers of a trade are just as much owners of the means of production as their "bosses" and therefore deserve equal earnings.

**THIRD WORLD:** A term developed during the cold war by the regions who felt detached from both the first world (Capitalist U.S.A.) and the second world (Communist Soviet Union). Today it is commonly used by mainstream media to describe regions of the world which suffer from intense poverty and exploitation.



presence in our society is also referred to as militarism. (see pp. 6-9, 25-29)

**NATIONALISM:** The belief that nations will benefit from acting independently rather



The term "Global South" is a more politically correct alternative.

**TOKENISM:** Presence without meaningful participation. For example, a superficial invitation for participation without ongoing dialogue and support, handpicked representatives who are expected to speak for the whole (socially oppressed) group (e.g. "tell us how women experience this issue"). Tokenism is often used as a band-aid solution to help the group improve its image (e.g. "we're not racist, look there's a person of color on the panel").

**TOTALITARIANISM:**

A form of government in which the state controls all aspects of society. In these cases, ideology is often used as a tool by the government to force its citizens to meet its demands. Mass surveillance, propaganda and secret police are common institutions established by totalitarian governments.

**TRANSGENDER:** The definition of transgender often overlaps with those of transsexual and genderqueer. Although many people use the term in their own ways, transgender usually means a person who identifies as a gender other than the one they were given at birth. Transgender includes non-op, pre-op, and post-op individuals (i.e. those that choose not to surgically and chemically change their bodies to look more like the

gender they identify with, those who wish to change their bodies but have not yet done so, and those who have already gone through the process). Transgendered people are often categorized as either f2m or m2f (female to male or male to female).

**TRANSPHOBIA:**

The fear and persecution of transgender/transsexual persons, rooted in a desire to maintain the gender binary (i.e. the categories "male" and "female"), which obscures the reality of the fluidity of gender and hides the experience of persons who do not identify with either category.

**WHITE PRIVILEGE:**

A privilege is a right, favor, advantage, immunity, specially granted to one individual or group, and withheld from another. White privilege is an historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of: (1)

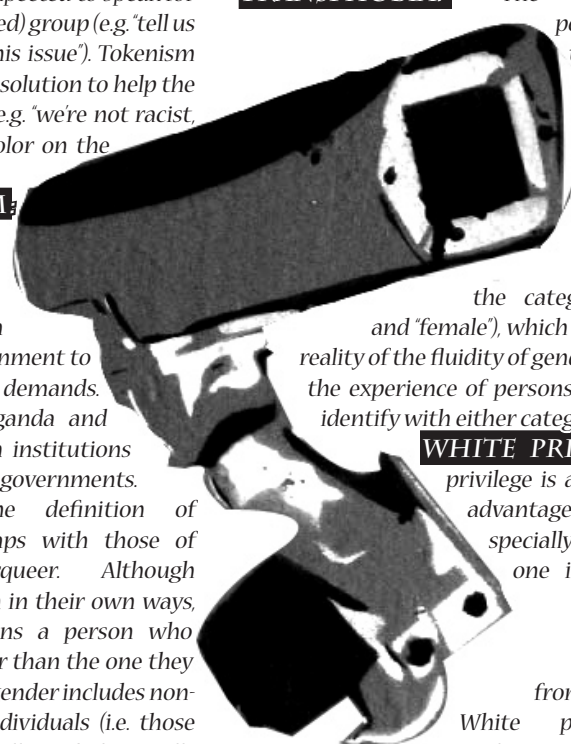
Preferential prejudice for and treatment of white people based solely on their skin color and/or ancestral origin from Europe; and (2) Exemption from racial and/or national oppression based on skin color and/or ancestral origin from Africa, Asia, the Americas and the Arab world. U.S. institutions and culture (economic, legal, military, political, educational, entertainment, familial and religious) privilege peoples from Europe over peoples from the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Arab world. In a white supremacist system, white privilege and racial oppression are two sides of the same coin. (see p. 31)

**WHITE SUPREMACY:**

White supremacy is an historically based, institutionally perpetuated system and ideology of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent; for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power and privilege. (see pp. 30-35)

**XENOPHOBIA:**

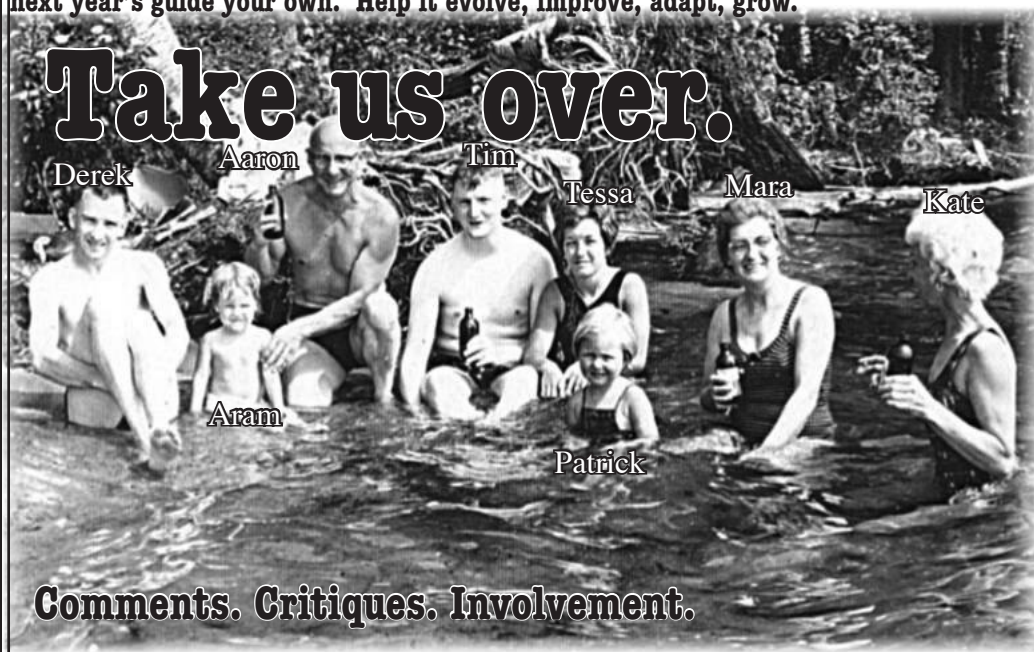
Irrational or unjustified hatred for something foreign. Most commonly found today in societies which fear diversity. In high income areas, policies are developed to deny access to housing or the development of low income housing so as to keep out people of color and the working. Xenophobia is strongly linked with racism and white supremacy.



As you browse this year's edition there may be some things you appreciate and some things you'd critique.

This guide results from a few campus activists pooling their resources – its only what we're able to make. Many of us are graduating this year, so the collective will be in desperate need of some fresh blood. We welcome and invite you too to make next year's guide your own. Help it evolve, improve, adapt, grow.

**Take us over.**



**Comments. Critiques. Involvement.**

THIS PUBLICATION WAS  
MADE POSSIBLE  
THANKS TO:

THE GSA  
THE NETWORK  
ZAMI! AND CHAVEZ  
JAVIER ARMAS  
PAULA IOANIDE  
ERIN PANGILINAN SYD-  
NEY RAINWATER  
JAMIE THOMPSON  
LIZ USELTEON  
MELISSA VO  
RYAN WADSWORTH  
DAVID ZLUTNICK MAR-  
LA ZUBEL  
AND MANY, MANY  
MORE.  
THANK YOU.

# Your Rights: Know 'Em and Use 'Em

By Santa Cruz Copwatch

## *What rights do I have?*

### **The Right to Advocate for Change.**

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution protects the rights of groups and individuals who advocate changes in laws, government practices, and even the form of government.

### **The Right to Remain Silent.**

The Fifth Amendment of the Constitution provides that every person has the right to remain silent in the face of questions posed by any police officer or government agent.

### **The Right to be Free from "Unreasonable Searches and Seizures."**

The Fourth Amendment is supposed to protect your privacy. Without a warrant, no government agent is allowed to search your home or office and you can refuse to let them in. Know, however, that it is easy for the government to monitor your telephone calls, conversations in your office, home, car, or meeting place, as well as mail. E-mail is particularly insecure. The government has already begun stepping up its monitoring of e-mails.

## **If The Police Stop You...**

### **Ask, "Am I Free To Go?"**

If not, you are being detained. If yes, walk away.

### **Ask, "Why Are You Detaining Me?"**

To stop you, the officer must have a "reasonable suspicion" to suspect your involvement in a specific crime (not just a guess or a stereotype).

*You do not have to answer any questions.* If you are stopped while driving you DO have to show ID, registration, and proof of insurance. If you are stopped while walking, you are not required to show ID. If you are being detained or issued a ticket, you may want to show ID to the cop because they can take you to the station to verify your identity.

### **Do Not Argue Or Respond To Their Accusations.**

When talking to them always keep your hands in sight. Do not touch them. Do not run away, even if you have done nothing wrong. Do not argue with, insult, or be rude to any officers, even if they are being rude to you.

### **If A Cop Tries To Search Your Car, Your House, Or Your Person:**

*Say repeatedly that you do not consent to the search.*

If in a car, do not open your trunk or door - by doing so you consent to a search of your property and yourself. If at home, step outside and lock your door behind you so cops have no reason to enter your house. Ask to see the warrant and check for proper address, judge's signature, and what the warrant says the cops are searching for. Everything must be correct in a legal warrant. Otherwise, send the police away.

The cops can do a "pat search" (search the exterior of one's clothing for weapons) during a detention for "officer safety reasons." They can't go into your pockets or bags without your consent. If you are arrested, they can search you and your possessions in great detail.

## **If The Police Stop Someone Else...**

### **Stop And Watch.**

Write down officers' names, badge numbers, and car numbers.

*Cops must be indentified by name or badge number.*

- Write down the time, date, and place of the incident and all details as soon as possible.
  - Ask if the person is being arrested, and if so, on what charge.
  - Get witnesses' names and contact info.
  - Try to get the arrestee's name, but only if they already gave it to the police.
  - Document any injuries as soon as possible. Photograph them and have a medical report describing details of the injuries.
- Police can arrest someone they believe is "interfering" with their actions. Maintain a reasonable distance, and if cops threaten to arrest you, explain that you don't intend to interfere, but you have the right to observe their actions.

## **If The Police Arrest You...**

### **Do Not Resist Physically.**

Use your words and keep cool. You may be handcuffed, searched, photographed and fingerprinted.

### **Say Repeatedly, "I Don't Want To Talk Until My Lawyer Is Present."**

Even if your rights aren't read, refuse to talk until your lawyer/public defender arrives.

### **If You're On Probation/Parole:**

Tell your P.O. You've been arrested, but nothing else.

### **Do Not Talk To Inmates In Jail About Your Case.**

### **Get Help!**

In California, within the first three hours of your arrest, you are allowed 3 local phone calls: one to a family member or friend, one to a bail bondsperson, and one to a lawyer.